

THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

PROTECTION. THE FARMER'S FRIEND.

On what ground are farmers asked to sustain a protective tariff? It is too absurd to imagine that it can increase the prices of their productions or in any way really protect them, except, possibly, upon a very few articles of small account compared with the bulk of farm produce. Agricultural products never have been and for an indefinite period to come never can be largely imported into this country, while they have always formed the bulk of our exports.

Protection to manufactures means that the farmer shall be heavily taxed upon all that he buys, while it does nothing to increase the price of what he sells. But he is assured that tariff taxes are paid by foreigners, who send the goods, not by himself, when he buys the goods. The falsity of this could be easily proved. But, if it were true, how can it be of any advantage to the farmer that foreigners, who want to buy his productions, should be heavily taxed? The more they are taxed the less can they afford to buy of him. The farmer sends to Europe a bushel of wheat. The European is willing to give in exchange two yards of cloth. The tariff steps in and cuts off one yard of cloth, calling it a tax on the accursed foreigner. Suppose it is, does that make the farmer any better off? He only gets one yard of cloth instead of two in exchange for his bushel of wheat. Call the process by what name you will, the farmer loses half his pay all the same. Calling a sheep a horse will never make it one. And calling the tariff a tax on foreigners will never alter the plain fact that for every dollar's worth of goods which foreign manufacturers send here to pay for farm produce, the farmer has to give a dollar and a half in wheat, corn or cotton.

The protectionist tells the farmer: "No matter what tariff taxes are laid upon imports into this country the foreigner has to pay them; because that is the price which he pays for the privilege of this market. The buyer always fixes the price of goods; and the seller has to pay all the taxes."

"Ah!" says the farmer, "but if the buyer fixes the price of goods won't the foreigner fix the price of my wheat? And shall not I have to pay all the taxes which he may put on it? And then, how shall I be any better off?"

"My dear friend," says the protectionist, "you don't understand. The seller fixes the price of wheat; and the buyer has to pay the taxes on it."

"No," says the farmer, "I don't understand. A minute ago, you said that foreign sellers would have to accept my price for what they sell, and now you say that they have to accept my price for what I sell. Seems to me, those two statements flatly contradict each other."

"My friend," says the protectionist,

with solemnity, "in any other country in the world, those statements would contradict each other; but in this boundless land of universal freedom—except as to trade—the peripatetic philosophy, founded upon the somnolent precepts of our illustrious forefathers, who fought and bled at Bunker's hill, as expounded by the megathilistic extravasations of our noble brethren, who carried the grand old flag howling in triumph through the serried cohorts of rebellion, requires us to rally round the flag, boys! rally once again! shouting the battle cry of freedom! Up with the traitor! down with the star! or words to that effect. No, sir! the patriotic principles of the true, intramurally differentiated, altruistically demonstrated and gloriously vindicated party, which has filled all the world with envy and admiration, can never be narrowed down to the dimensions of European logic, and can never be contradicted, except by rebels and copperheads. What's the matter with Harrison?"

"He's all right!" shouts the farmer, and now he is entirely satisfied.

Having successfully got over this little difficulty, the protectionist passes to the next point. "My beloved friend," he says to the farmer, "what you need is a larger market for your products. In the absence of a tariff, you would have the foreign market for nothing. But that which costs nothing is worth nothing. All economists agree that that which can be had for nothing has no value. The foreign market is, therefore, of no value. By my tariff, I will shut you out of this foreign market and give you one which I will furnish, and which will certainly be of great value, because you shall pay me a big price for it. Or, if you prefer, I will only drive away half your present customers. Then you shall hire fresh customers from me; and so you will have two markets, instead of one."

The farmer meekly assents, but asks how much he is to pay for the new customers. "Oh!" says the protectionist, "leave that to me. I will reduce the cost, by taking care that you shall never have half as many customers of the new kind as you had of the old kind. The fewer you have the less you will have to pay. Don't you see?"

And he does see. In 1880, foreigners took thirty-one per cent of all American farm products (according to the census), farmers themselves used thirty and one-half per cent, and the whole body of employers and workmen in the protected industries only three and one-half per cent.

Thus, after a century of protection, the protected classes do not provide a market for American farmers equal to more than one-ninth of the foreign market; and protection is to be continued and increased in order to drive away the American farmer's best customers.

In the next place, the protectionists point out to the farmer the great injury which the farmer suffers by reason of the extortion of foreign producers. He says to the farmer: "You need more competition among those who supply you with goods. Without my tariff, you will be dependent upon the foreign producer for your iron and steel. You need the competition of domestic producers in order to reduce the price of what you buy. Now you cannot have any domestic producers without my protective tariff; but with that, you will secure large production at home and therefore cheap prices for everything that you buy."

The farmer answers: "But how is this to make things cheaper? Your tariff will shut out the foreign producer, and then the domestic producer can charge me and does charge me a higher price than I paid before. How are you going to make

prices cheaper to me, by shutting out half the people who are willing to sell me?"

The protectionist has a ready answer: "We do not propose to shut out foreign competition entirely; we only propose to shut out about three-fourths of it. Take steel rails, for instance. We only propose to tax you to the value of one rail for every rail which you buy from abroad; and with this encouragement we have made ample arrangements with Messrs. Andrew Carnegie and Company to furnish unbounded competition for your benefit in this country. You shall have three competing producers of steel rails; all anxious to supply you at the cheapest possible rates. 'Andrew' will set up a steel mill at Johnstown, 'Carnegie' will set up another at Pittsburgh, and 'Company' will set up a third at Chicago. Thus you will have three rival producers anxiously competing for your business and relieving you from slavish dependence upon the foreign manufacturer."

Thus the farmer is persuaded to cut off his natural customers and to rely upon taxation as a means of developing new customers for the things which he sells and new manufacturers for the things which he buys. He pays a premium upon what he buys and allows a discount upon what he sells; and, after a hundred years of this expensive process, he finds that he pays higher prices for his goods than anybody else, while the customers whom he has bought and paid for do not amount to more than one-ninth of those whom he had, without paying anything, and whom he is continually trying to drive away.

In addition to this, the protective policy operates as a bounty upon the development of other farmers in other countries to compete with the American farmer. English manufacturers, having been denied the privilege of selling their rails in this country, have had to find a market for them in India. In doing this, they have developed an immense growth of wheat in India, which would not have been raised but for the new railroads, and which is taken to England to compete with and lower the price of American wheat. If Englishmen had been allowed to send steel rails to America, there would have been little inducement to send them to India, and the development of Indian wheat would have been much slower than it has in fact been. Thus the American farmer not only pays heavily for the privilege of a home market, and for the privilege of being supplied with his goods by home production, but also contributes handsomely to the development of foreign production to come in direct competition with his own.

What a friend is Protection to the American farmer!

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

Protecting Home Industries.

New York Press, Nov. 9, 1888.

Boom! boom! business boom!
Listen to the rattle of the spindle and the loom!
Listen to the music when the wheels go round!
Freeing raw material from prisons in the ground,
Making each American wilderness to bloom.
Business, business, business boom.

Strikes Recorded in Bradstreet's, March 9, 1889.

Enfield, N. H.—Woollen weavers, against reduction wages, March 1.
Tacoma, Wash. Ter.—Steamboat hands on Puget Sound and Columbia River, against reduction, March 6.
Mount Holly, N. J.—Iron works' hands, question of management, March 5.
Wheeling, W. Va.—Hinge factory hands, against reduction, March 6.
Blandon, Pa.—Rolling mill hands, against reduction, March 2.
South Pittsburg, Tenn.—Furnace hands, against reduction, March 2.
Fall River, Mass.—Six thousand weavers in fifty factories, question of wages, March 11.

It Doesn't Hurt a Paper to Advocate the Single Tax.

Memphis Appeal.

The people are everywhere exerting themselves to bring our weekly subscription list up to 100,000 copies.

THE COPPER TRUST.

The collapse of the great French copper syndicate, impending as I write these lines, if not, indeed, an accomplished fact before they have appeared in type, forcibly illustrates how the power of monopoly may work its own ruin without, unfortunately, bringing a compensatory benefit to the public. Indirectly, too, the whole gigantic operation may be traced to our own protective tariff, which nurtured the copper mining companies of the United States to such a degree that their managers became infatuated with the idea that they could defy natural laws. Not satisfied with the control of ore deposits from which copper could be produced with the expenditure of less labor than anywhere else in the world, they secured from congress an additional taxing power through the imposition of a tariff duty of four cents a pound—reduced in 1883 to three cents a pound—on refined copper, and of slightly lower rates on the cruder sorts; by means of which they were actually able to make the consumers in America pay for a long time from two to three cents a pound more than they sold identically the same copper for in Europe. This anomaly disappeared some five years ago as the enormous profits of the business had stimulated copper mining to such an extent that the domestic production got to be largely in excess of home demand.

A fiercer competition set in and not only reduced prices here to the foreign level, but sharply affected the markets of the world. The companies owning the richest mines made a violent effort to drive the others out of business, the great profits which "protection" had aided them to amass in former years giving them the ammunition with which to carry the warfare far beyond any ordinary limits without materially affecting current dividends, and to force prices below ten cents a pound in 1886 and 1887, which was then under the cost of production for sufficient copper to supply the demand, although processes have since been so far improved as to make the cost line several cents lower now than then.

Early in the summer of 1887, a number of mines had suspended operations, reducing the output considerably; and certain Boston speculators, becoming convinced that prices were unnaturally low, began to buy up the available stock of copper in this country. About the same time, the Societe des Metaux, a French company engaged in the manufacture of copper goods, found itself rather short of supplies; and in order to buy them as cheaply as possible, began to make speculative "short" sales in London, with the object of depressing the market. The natural reaction from artificially low prices had, however, by this time set in; and accelerated by the purchases of the Boston speculators and by the sudden breaking out of a disastrous fire in the Calumet and Hecla mines on Lake Superior, the largest and richest in America, prices began to steadily rise; and the French company was soon compelled to buy enough copper to make the necessary deliveries on its previous sales at a higher price than that at which the sales had been made. This operation showing a loss, the managers of the Societe resolved to make it good by entering into a fresh speculation on the long side, buying not only enough to meet their first sales, but an additional quantity; the profit on the rise in value of which they expected should offset the loss on the first transaction. So quickly was this expectation realized that they were seized with an ambition to go still further and repeat with copper the same sort of operation as substantially the same individuals were concerned in respecting tin; all the tin in stock and the supplies as fast as they came forward having been bought by a clique or syndi-

cate that had been formed early in 1887, with the effect of enormously advancing tin prices. By the beginning of January, 1888, it had become apparent that this latter speculation was doomed to failure, because it did not control the sources of production; and it did, in fact, go to pieces entirely during the month of April. Before the end of 1887 the copper syndicate had become a recognized entity, composed primarily of the wealthy stockholders of the Societe des Metaux, which company was used as the corporate body to purchase copper and make contracts, under the direction of its president, M. Eugene Secretan; but a number of other financiers had become associated with the clique, the interest of the Comptoir d'Escompte—a very large French bank—enlisted as chief financial backer, and other banking houses drawn into the scheme as indorsers of certain of the contracts involved.

Warned by their poor success with tin, they set to work to avoid a similar experience with copper by making contracts with all the leading mining companies throughout the world for control of their product. Nearly all these contracts were to run for three years from the early part of 1888, and bound the syndicate (through the Societe des Metaux as intermediary) to take all the copper produced at a fixed price—varying from 13 cents to 13½ cents for American copper, 14 cents for Spanish, Japanese and German, and 15 cents for the Cape of Good Hope product—the syndicate having the right to sell to consumers as it pleased, but sharing with the American companies alone all profit above the contract price; while the mines, on their part, agreed not to produce more copper than they were already turning out, all the mines being now pushed to their full capacity to meet the extraordinary demand which had been created by the low average prices of the two preceding years. Distinct contracts were made with the Anaconda mine of Montana, and with one smelting works which makes a specialty of refining ore from the numerous smaller mines of America, usually classed among the miscellaneous sources; these contracts expiring with the year 1888, but otherwise in general features corresponding to the other American contracts.

Our own Lake Superior companies, trained in a school of semi-socialism by the protective tariff, readily fell in with the scheme, hanging out only long enough to obtain the best possible terms for themselves; which, indeed, seemed to give them a game of "heads I win, tails you lose"—for the guaranteed price of 13 cents meant to most of them a sure profit of from 6 to 9 cents a pound. The principle was the same as the one which they had pursued in their halcyon days, before competition by Arizona and Montana grew severe; up to which time they had marketed all their copper that was used in this country through a pool headed by the Calumet and Hecla company, and for many years had maintained prices at from 18 to 20 cents, for what it cost them not more than 10 to 12 cents to produce.

The highest point in this last movement, however, was reached just before the syndicate had concluded its contracts; when the ruling speculation had carried prices for the moment up to 18½ cents. When the contracts were being signed the quotations were down to 16 cents, from which the syndicate, when it began to actually conduct the world's business, gradually put them up to 17½, dropping them to 16½, as it found that the higher values were beginning to tell on consumption. But this concession was too slight to induce the consumption of all the copper that was now being produced. New supplies rushed in from all quarters and had to be bought by the syndicate as fast as they came forward. The Chilean copper, the only single supply of moment that was not regularly contracted for, was also bought up as soon as shipped to England and put in warehouse. Stocks known to lie in European warehouses, which had been 42,000 tons when 1888 began, were 104,000 tons at the close of the year. The American market was the least serious problem, for all the im-

portant mines here were under contract, and the tariff wall shut out impertinent interference with the conspiracy from abroad. But even in America people used less copper, and an increasing percentage could find no use except to be sent abroad, where it would meet whatever competition the world might still furnish. The syndicate had made the gigantic mistake of guaranteeing such a high price that it could not sell at a profit all the copper that it had agreed to receive. Still struggling to resist the inevitable, it sought to extend the contracts to run for nine years longer than the original term; hoping, no doubt, that in twelve years, the human race would, in spite of itself, be forced to consume the annual production—the natural increase of which would be stunted by contract—and the accumulated stocks as well. These negotiations, in which an effort was made to restrict the product and reduce the guaranteed price, were concluded last Tuesday, and while the result is not positively known, it is understood that the real lords of the soil—the mining companies—refused their consent to any material modification of the original contracts; while willingly agreeing to the proposal that the world's copper trade should be centered in one man's hands for eleven years more, so long as their share of the plunder should be the largest and most certain.

But an unexpected blow fell. The greater part of the money paid out for the 150,000 or 200,000 tons of copper, for which no market could be found, had been obtained through the Comptoir d'Escompte; and a director of that bank having committed suicide because of his distrust of the inevitable catastrophe, its depositors started a run upon it, which now threatens its existence; and the bubble burst. The syndicate's credit is destroyed, and it now seems impossible that it can carry its schemes further. It was temporarily successful, however, because it obtained partial control of certain great natural opportunities, for which it hoped to make the rest of mankind pay tribute. If it has failed now, it is only because the control was not complete. Had its contracts given it such entire authority over production and prices as would amount to mutual ownership, there is no human power that could have broken its sway, except the single tax, which would restore to the people of each country their rights of ownership in the gifts of God, and take for common use the product of virtual forces which such combinations as these seek to retain for themselves. Even though these speculators in human needs have not had to contend with the single tax, their task has been harder because all countries were not like the United States—shut off from all others by a tariff wall, within which the monopoly might adjust itself to the local conditions. But the most obvious moral of their downfall is that nature does impose some limit to man's greed; that where one class of men seek to appropriate the earnings of other men or to interfere with the equal rights of all men to freely exchange the product of their labor, they will so clog the industrial chain as to bring about not only public calamity but, often enough, for themselves individual disaster.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

Command the Assessor to do His Duty.

Kingston, Ont., Wldg.

There never appeared to be more provocation for the application of some features of the Henry George principle of taxation than at the present time. All over the city the vacant land is held at high figures and by the speculators. Some of the property is overrated in value and is held by parties who think that the boom will continue forever, that in any case the work of improvement must eventually do them a heap of good. Thus these people are doing absolutely nothing to add to the beauty of the city and the increase of the land. They want to profit by the "unearned increment" and they may do so; that is, if the assessor does not anticipate them and, influenced by ideas of modern and common sense, run up the assessment. Holding land for speculation, and preventing the improvement of the city, should be discouraged, and no way is better than by resorting to the methods best known to the assessor.

They Always Do That in the Spring, Tra-la.

Chicago Herald.

The coal barons have decided to reduce the price of coal on the 15th of March.

BALTIMORE OYSTERS.

In an issue of the Baltimore Sun printed early in February last, John K. Cowen, a leading lawyer and public spirited citizen of Baltimore, published an able article on the subject of Maryland's oyster fisheries. In this article Mr. Cowen pointed out the tendency to a rapid destruction of the fisheries by dredging and the impossibility of cultivation for lack of security of tenure, and recommended as a remedy the substitution of private ownership for the common of fishery which now prevails.

It was evident that Mr. Cowen, if he really intended ownership in fee, did not consider the difference between ownership and possession. The remedy at which he aimed, as he would no doubt concede, was one which would prevent destruction and give security of tenure. Had he stopped to consider that, though private ownership has been the most common method of accomplishing this in respect of lands not lying under water, yet there are ways in which it can be accomplished without investing private individuals with absolute ownership for all time of what he tacitly concedes to be common property, it is not to be presumed that he would have so carelessly advocated reduction to private ownership.

Soon after Mr. Cowen's article appeared THE STANDARD, in reviewing it, pointed out that, in harmony with the principle of the single tax, the best mode of accomplishing the object Mr. Cowen, in common with the single tax men, has in view respecting such natural opportunities for enterprise as oyster lands, is a system of leasing upon such terms that would secure to the lessee the full value of any plant he might establish, and to the state the value of the site.

Last week the Evening Post discovered Mr. Cowen's article, and utterly regardless of THE STANDARD's comment and the plain language of "Progress and Poverty," described it as "a practical commentary on Henry George's land theories." Such distortions of the single tax as the Post solemnly presented are occasionally found in village papers where misconception of the subject may be expected; but appearing as this did in a metropolitan paper famous for its professions of economic knowledge and candor in discussion, it is puzzling to decide which of these professions it has stultified in this case.

The Post assumes throughout that what it calls the George land theory involves the mediæval system of holding land in common, as Maryland oyster grounds are held; whereas any one who has read "Progress and Poverty," though never so carelessly, knows that such a tenure is distinctly repudiated, on the ground that in an advanced state of civilization, where rent has arisen, such a tenure does not give equality, nor secure the benefit of improvements to the improver, nor encourage the best use of land. And it makes the same mistake of confounding possession with ownership that Mr. Cowen did; but for it there is not the same excuse. Mr. Cowen's attention had not been called to the distinction, nor did he pretend to be an expert; while the Post, besides posing as an expert in political economy, must have had its attention directly called to the distinction, for it speaks of "Progress and Poverty," where the distinction is made prominent, as of a book with which it is familiar. Befogged by this confusion of ideas, it makes such preposterous statements as that without private ownership of agricultural land in the past, investment of capital would have been impossible, and that such land could not have been properly and intelligently tilled. It is a sufficient reply to remind the Post that the way in which agricultural land was tilled was not by private ownership, but by tenants who paid private owners for the privilege. Their inducement to properly and intelligently till, so far from being ownership of the land, was only a more or less secure tenure, and ownership of the product.

The Post persistently speaks of private ownership and permanency of tenure, as if they were interchangeable terms.

Thus, having asserted the necessity of private ownership, it illustrates by saying that when permanent buildings were developed permanent tenure of house lots became a legal necessity. When manure was invented the same process was applied to agriculture. When mining machinery superseded primitive washing or digging the same reform took place in the mining laws. But permanent tenure of house lots does not necessarily involve the necessity of private ownership of the lots, so that when increase of population brings the lots into greater demand, the house builder and his descendants can live in ease, not on the value of the house he has made, but on the rent of the site he has appropriated; and similarly of farm lands and mines.

The real question is how, in a given stage of civilization, to secure the best use of natural opportunities most consistently with the right of men to land, and to the enjoyment of those benefits of co-operation which attach to land, and are measured by economic rent. In primitive conditions, before rent has arisen, this is fairly done by regarding land as an open common. Then any one can take whatever vacant land he finds, and none will have an object in disturbing him, since all land is valueless. But when particular lands acquire value, as they do in greater and greater degree with the advance of civilization, this method of securing the common right is no longer practicable. It involves waste, discouragement of improvement, and an unequal distribution of the exceptional values which attach to some land on account of its exceptional advantages—natural, or social, or both. New methods must then be adopted. Among these is private ownership. It, however, was never adopted as a method, but was a sheer usurpation. The pretense that it is the necessary means of inducing improvement, and of securing to the improver the value of his labor, which is historically a falsehood and economically an absurdity, is one of those afterthoughts that always spring up to support a tottering wrong.

The method proposed by "Progress and Poverty," and which Mr. Cowen appears not to have considered, while the Post for the sake of an uncandid attack misrepresents, is that land generally should be held by a permanent tenure on the single condition that in lieu of all other taxation the holder pay a tax upon its value. The effect of this would be to encourage the investment of capital by exempting it from taxation, to make fixed capital secure by giving permanent possession of the land to which it is attached, to discourage the appropriation of land except for use, by making it unprofitable; and to make unused land free or so cheap that nature's workshop would be always open in places readily accessible to centers of industry and social life. But there are kinds of land which in perfect harmony with the single tax may be best managed under state leases. One of these is oyster land. By making leases long enough to give the oyster cultivator an opportunity to get his farm in cultivation, but not so long that he might enjoy an unearned income from increase of the value of the site, and by requiring his successor, if at the end of a lease the site passed into new hands, to pay him the fair value of his plant, security of tenure and product would encourage cultivation, and the rent being applied to public purposes, common ownership would be continued in the best way the nature of the case permits.

It is cases like the oyster land of Maryland that are illustrated in the first chapter of the eighth book of "Progress and Poverty," in a reference to the Alaska seal fishery: "To throw such a fishery as this open to whoever chose to go and kill—which would make it to the interest of each party to kill as many as he could at the time without reference to the future—would be to utterly destroy it in a few seasons, as similar fisheries in other oceans have been destroyed. But it is not necessary therefore to make these islands private property. Though for reasons greatly less cogent the great pub-

lie domain of the American people has been made over to private ownership as fast as anybody could be got to take it, these islands have been leased at a rent of \$317,500 per year, probably not very much less than they could have been sold for at the time of the Alaska purchase. They have already [1879], yielded two millions and a half to the national treasury, and they are still, in unimpaired value. . . . the common property of the people of the United States."

If the people of Maryland wish to preserve and extend their oyster production they will speedily put an end to the destruction of the natural beds and encourage cultivation by leasing oyster grounds to the highest bidder under a lease that will secure to every tenant the value of his plant. And if they wish to preserve to themselves and their posterity that common property which they now have in their sites for oyster beds, they will not sell those sites, at any rate they will not sell until it is shown, what never yet has been shown, that leasing will not secure the benefits claimed for private ownership, with the additional advantage of retaining the value of common rights for common use instead of turning it over to private individuals for private use.

LOUIS F. POST.

THE FIGHT GOES ON.

There is among many protectionists a feeling that the one political question in which they take any interest is settled in their favor for a long time to come. Such people fully believe that Mr. Cleveland was beaten on the issue raised by his famous message on the surplus and the tariff, and they imagine that all who supported him in the last campaign are sorry that the issue was ever raised.

This looks plausible, and there is in it a measure of truth. Though Mr. Cleveland was defeated by bribery on the one hand and by the treachery of disgruntled democratic spoilsmen on the other hand, it is nevertheless true that had he not raised the tariff issue the republican politicians could not have squeezed out of the protected manufacturers the enormous sums of money necessary for the success of a campaign such as they conducted. It is also unquestionably true that those democrats who supported their candidate on purely partisan grounds bitterly lament the raising of the tariff issue.

Looking deeper, however, the more intelligent beneficiaries of the tariff system of bounties must view the situation with alarm. They know what their victory cost and they see that the cry of "protection to American industry" would have utterly failed had it not been supplemented by an enormous expenditure of money among those who wanted their share of its benefits in advance, and in cash. Free trade has ceased to be scarecrow that can frighten intelligent workingmen, and all this is made very clear by the returns from manufacturing cities and towns.

But this is not all, nor the worst of it. The boggy unquestionably did frighten many ignorant and timid workmen. They voted for protection despite the arguments of their more intelligent shopmates, in the belief that Cleveland's success would bring disaster to them and that Harrison's election would assure continued work and better wages. With success, the republican party assumed the tremendous responsibility of seeing that this expectation shall not be disappointed. It does not matter in the least that such an expectation is foolish. The high priests of the party promised the people four years of plenty if they would bow down and worship the idol of protection, and they cannot now afford to have any drouth or famine. If such comes, then the temple of their god will be deserted. Such a policy is a risky one under any circumstances, but doubly so now, when in every workshop can be found a large percentage of former worshipers who declare that the idol is a humbug and its high priests swindlers.

Looking at the matter from this standpoint, recent events appear most ominous for the protectionists. On the day after the inauguration of Harrison came the

announcement of the failure of a great protected iron industry in Reading, Pa., by which 2,000 men were suddenly thrown out of work. This week is made notable by a tremendous strike of cotton operatives in Fall River, who openly declare that they are not receiving their share of the profits that the tariff puts into the pockets of the manufacturers. In no direction is there any sign that the accession of the protectionists to power has done anything for the improvement of business.

Nor is this all. The necessary results of a boodle campaign are becoming manifest. Monopolist after monopolist is claiming his reward. At this writing but few important appointments have been made since the cabinet was completed; but the names of noted monopolists are constantly mentioned as the probable recipients of the highest honors within the gift of Mr. Harrison. It is bound to be so, but, unhappily for the protectionists, the last campaign started the people to thinking about such things, and to talking about them among themselves. It will bother the shrewdest politician to devise a plan of campaign that will provide for the maintenance of error's side in a discussion that is carried on in every workshop and around the stove in the country stores. The people have begun to talk among themselves, and current events will force them to really consider whether they are growing richer by voting to levy heavy taxes on all that they consume.

But threatening as is this voluntary popular discussion to the protected monopolists, they are not to be left free from organized attack. The recent Chicago convention gave evidence that earnest and determined men are prepared to sacrifice time and money in fighting these monopolies. It likewise gave evidence that opposition to tariff taxation grows more radical as the fight goes on. That convention, which met in the name of tariff reform, declared unanimously for the destruction of the protective features of the tariff and was probably only prevented, through the paternal care of its distinguished presiding officer, from demanding the abolition of custom houses.

That convention had hardly adjourned before a state convention similar in character met in Indianapolis to organize for continuous work in Indiana. This week the Massachusetts tariff reform league, of which Henry L. Pierce is president and William Lloyd Garrison treasurer, has issued an address pledging itself to a renewal of the fight, and it announces the opening of permanent headquarters at 65 State street, Boston.

In this city the Reform club, the most powerful, aggressive and radical opponent that the protective system has yet had in the United States, has actively resumed hostilities. The president of the club, Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, is an old free trader who knows what free trade means; while in John De Witt Warner the tariff reform committee of the club has found a chairman who is an absolute free trader, and a fighter and organizer who will know no rest until the tariff is out of existence. The various sub-committees are busily engaged in their various departments, and all are enlisted for four years, or the war.

Last, but not least, comes the single tax movement as a factor in this fight. Here we have a body of free traders to whom free trade is but a stepping stone to something beyond. Unlike the old free traders, who confessed to one another in whispers that free trade ultimately involved that dreadful thing "direct taxation," the new free traders declare that direct taxation is a good thing in itself, so long as it is confined to land values. And so they come, a throng of people, clamoring for that which it was supposed the masses would dread and only be brought to submit to through subterfuge or sheer necessity. The rapid growth of organized single tax sentiment is shown by the weekly report of the enrollment committee, and any examination of the list of workers for mere free trade will show that in that field, also, the single tax men are doing their full duty, and that in so

doing they not only render effective assistance but neglect no opportunity to lend help to the most radical wing of free traders.

Taking all these facts into consideration the complacent assumption of the more ignorant protectionists that the tariff question was finally settled at the last election is amusing. Instead of settling it that campaign merely brought it into politics in earnest, there to stay until it is settled by the success of the American system—that which the founders of the republic established between the states and sought to extend to all mankind.

There is one feature of this movement that is particularly gratifying to the friends of the single tax and that is that our allies, at this stage of the contest, are like ourselves, not absorbed in the party that we hope to use for the more rapid accomplishment of our purposes. From the mildest tariff reform organization to the most radical free trade and single tax association there comes the same protest against any blind committal in advance to the democratic party, until that party has shown that it deserves our support. All recognize the impossibility of turning the republican party aside from its worship of the protection fetish and its devotion to the fleshpots that furnish its campaign resources, but with equal unanimity all understand that if once sure of the support of tariff reformers and free traders the democratic bosses and spoilsmen would straightway begin to conciliate the Randalls and Smith Weeds and attempt to continue in power in their party organization the Barnums and Gormans. It is wise, therefore, for the men who intend to fight this protection fraud in earnest to stand apart, and while lending their help to make the democratic party do what it ought to do, at the same time say to it, "You must be true to your professed principles, and you must cease to put protectionists in command of your forces, else you forfeit the respect and support of the men of principle, who alone can save you, first, because they are men of principle; and, secondly, because they are not of you, though they are with you, and can, therefore, command the confidence of the thronging thousands of free traders who vote for protection, not because they love it or believe in it, but because they hate and distrust the democratic party." The tens of thousands of men who have come into the single tax movement out of the republican party will find satisfaction in the fact that in this free trade fight we and all our closest allies thus stand apart from the democratic party even while proposing to help it, if it goes our way. WM. T. CROASDALE.

HENRY GEORGE IN ENGLAND.

Plan of His Single Tax Campaign to Help the Irish.

New York World.

LONDON, March 10.—Henry George arrived at Southampton to-day on the steamer Ems, and his friends took him aboard a tender amid the cheers of those who had voyaged with him. He said the passage had been a pleasant one, and he was full of enthusiasm for his work in England. In an interview with the World correspondent this evening at the Westminster Palace hotel, London, he said:

"I am here with the idea that England is the most vulnerable point in the world for us. Politics here are in a peculiar position. In the first place there has been a tremendous revolution in favor of the Irish, which culminates in the exposure of the Tories. When I first came to England in 1883 the intensity of the prejudice in the minds of the masses of the people against everything Irish was something that can hardly be stated. Nothing was too bad to believe of Ireland. The result of the Gladstone fight, putting the liberal party with all its machinery upon the side of the Irish party, has been to enormously educate and enlighten the English people. Now that party and its machinery has been virtually put against the Tories on the purchase scheme. That is about the last refuge of English landlordism. The feeling is very strong. My friends insisted on my coming over here in view of the fact that, although the parliamentary election might not come off for three years, it was liable to come off in three months, and they wanted, as far as possible, to infuse radical ideas into the minds of the voters, and to so bring them into the election that the successful members would have to pledge

themselves. Recent elections to the county council have shown the depth of the radical sentiment. For instance, the London joint committee for the taxation of ground rents, which I addressed when I was in London last, and of which association I am a member, was formed only a year ago. Thirty-eight of the members who formed it have been elected to this new county council, and there is no question that a clear majority of the members were in favor of taxing the landlords, and a majority of that majority, I should say, were in favor of taxing them as I would, so as to utterly abolish them.

"In this body and in other similar bodies the question will come up, not for decision, but at least for presentation to parliament, and at the next parliamentary election it is the confident expectation of our friends that a majority of the new members can be secured."

"What, in your opinion, will be the effect of the outcome of the Parnell commission?"

"The breakdown of the Times's case is a crushing disaster to the Tory government and may so far precipitate things as to bring the election on at any time. The smash up aids the radical movement tremendously. Probably nothing has happened within the present century that will have such an effect. When I was last in London the Times was evidently only fighting for delay and to drain the Irish funds. Outside of the bigoted Tories there was an expectation that the Times's case would finally collapse, but nobody seemed to anticipate such a terrific collapse as has come. The government is so thoroughly mixed up with the prosecution of the case that it affects it as disastrously as it does the Times."

"What of the progress of your movement in America, Mr. George?"

"It is very strong and gaining every day. The people everywhere are beginning to discuss the subject of taxation. Among tariff reformers radical free trade ideas are coming to the front, as was shown in the Chicago convention, and the timid movement for the reduction of the tariff is passing into a demand for the abolition of all tariffs."

Mr. George says he is going to make a three months' campaign of it through England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. He is jubilant over the prospect and more confident of a satisfactory outcome even than when he came so near to being elected mayor of New York a couple of years ago.

The English Campaign.

London Democrat, March 1.

There seems now no reasonable doubt of the success of the campaign upon which Mr. Henry George is to enter within a few days after these lines are in the hands of our readers. The times are ripe for such a campaign. On all hands we receive the most gratifying assurances of the progress which is everywhere being made by the views with which Mr. George's name is identified. The Birmingham programme, the great uprising of London in its first municipal election, the great and determined meeting at St. James's hall, followed by the introduction of a bill into the house of commons to tax land values in order to provide better houses for those whom landlordism has impoverished—these things, and such as these, are the outward and visible signs of a great awakening all over the country. The lecturers of the Land restoration league find audiences, larger and more enthusiastic than ever before, eager to settle down to the detailed discussion of practical proposals for the abolition of landlordism. Everywhere single tax ideas are to the front. If our friends do their duty during the next few months the slowly but surely rising tide of popular indignation against landlordism will be converted into a torrent.

The invitations already received have come from the most various sources. It is hopeful that so many of them should come from religious bodies. One of the first, if not the very first, of Mr. George's meetings will be held in an important South London chapel, at the invitation of a young men's society connected therewith; another is to take place in connection with Westminster Chapel; the City Temple will probably be available for a third, and other arrangements of a similar character are under discussion.

In London, meetings will be held east, west, north, and south in large halls, where the whole of the local arrangements will be made and carried on by working men's clubs combining together for this special purpose.

We append a list of all the dates definitely fixed at the time of going to press:

- March.
13. Camberwell Green chapel, Wren road, S.E.
 14. St. Pancras (Vestry hall).
 19. Bermondsey (Town hall).
 20. Woolwich.
 22. Edmonton (Town hall).
 25. Cardiff.
 27. Newport.
 28. Rusea.
- April.
1. Westminster chapel.
 2. Lambeth Baths, Westminster Bridge road, S.E.
 3. Wandsworth.
 5. Stratford (Town hall).
 8. Nottingham.
 10. Bradford.
 11. Bolton.
 12. Carlisle.
 - 14-22. Tyneside and Weirsides district.
 - 22-May 1. Scotland.
- May.
- 12-19. Birmingham and district.

SINGLE TAX MEETINGS.

Reports From Various Points Throughout the Country.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va.—There has been a wonderful change in public sentiment here in regard to the single tax. We have now four places in and around Parkersburg where we hold single tax meetings; these meetings are well attended and the people hear the tidings of the new gospel gladly. We are having calls for speakers from quite a distance and our field of usefulness is growing constantly wider. A "tariff reform club" was organized here, the preamble of which declares for free trade, and they invite free discussion. Subjects for discussion at next meeting are "Tariff for revenue," "Free trade," and "The single tax."

I expect to leave for the west about March 25, and will be glad to lecture upon the single tax at any place along my route, providing my expenses are paid. These will be very moderate. Any communications will reach me at 516 Fifth street, Parkersburg, W. Va.

W. A. PHELPS.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.—In January our club reorganized under the name of the Poughkeepsie Single tax club, and is now holding regular meetings once a week. Opponents of our theories are invited to be present and debate with us. We have so far held very interesting meetings, which have been fairly well attended. Our hall is at No. 226 Union street, and all single tax men who may be in Poughkeepsie are invited to meet with us there every Thursday night at eight o'clock. Correspondence with single tax men in other parts of Dutchess county for the purpose of founding other local associations is desired.

F. S. ARNOLD, Secretary.

PATERSON, N. J.—Since establishing a permanent headquarters the progress made by our association has been gratifying. The club meets regularly every Friday evening in the First National Bank building, and at every meeting takes in new members. All respectable persons, male and female, irrespective of past party affiliations, who believe in the single tax principle, are eligible to membership—no other test is required. No initiation fees and no regular monthly dues are charged. We are preparing to "carry the war into Africa." A press committee will take charge of the local papers and see that the tariff and single tax get fair play, while a similar committee will arrange debates from time to time. On the 22d inst. W. I. Lewis, a young lawyer of Paterson, will appear before the club and speak on the question of taxation; and on a subsequent date the Rev. S. B. Meeser, also of this city, will address us.

J. A. CRAIG, Sec.-Treasurer.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—The temporary organization of a free trade league has been effected at this place. Among those active in the movement are Charles A. Evans, E. W. Dundon, T. L. Byrnes, and other single tax workers. George S. Perry, a leading bookseller and stationer, was chosen chairman, and John H. Blakeney secretary, of the temporary organization. Rapid and healthful growth of the club is expected.

JOHN H. BLAKENEY.

AUBURN, Me.—Single tax men of this city feel encouraged. At our late municipal election we elected Thomas Marsden, a member of our club and an unlimited single tax man, to the common council. So we have at least one of the fifteen councilors who will work in the interest of the community and against monopoly.

H. G. CASEY.

St. Louis, March 6.—At the meeting of the single tax league last evening it was decided to send to H. Martin Williams and Hon. Fred. Swaine, at Jefferson City, 500 copies of Thomas G. Shearman's address before the Ohio legislature. Mr. Swaine's bill is promoting discussion among the law makers, and Mr. Shearman's address will aid in keeping the discussion alive. The meeting was largely attended, and there were many new faces in the audience. The league rooms, at 1,109 Washington street, are open every night, and regular meetings are held every Tuesday evening. All are welcome.

BENJ. E. BLOOM, secretary.

Word comes from A. J. Moxham of Johnston, Pa., of the formation of a Henry George club there of seventy-five members, and there are indications of its rapid growth.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

Professor Daniel DeLeon last Sunday evening addressed the club on "The strategy of the labor movement." His points were: (1) The single tax would not do what its advocates promised for it. (2) Liberty for the workers lies in independent political action. (3) The socialists present the true solution of the labor problem. It is hardly necessary to say that the professor was listened to courteously. The debate that followed was animated.

The committees of all the single tax clubs of New York and vicinity will meet at 8 St. Mark's place Sunday afternoon, March 17, at three o'clock to make the final preparation for the tenth anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty," which will take place April 2 (Jefferson's birthday), at Coop union.

Last Monday evening, Charles J. Kelly corresponding secretary of the club, ad-

ressed the Progress and Poverty class on "The new phase of the labor movement."

At the Thursday meeting a new constitution for the club was presented by a committee. It will be tacked to the bulletin board for two weeks. Mr. Lewis, one of the club's delegates to the Chicago conference, made a report of the proceedings.

WHERE REFORM IS NEEDED.

The Australian Ballot System Now the Law of Indiana—A State Tariff Reform League Launched with Enthusiasm.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—The Australian system of voting has passed into the laws of Indiana and will be put in operation in the fall elections of 1890. The measure is most radical. To-day a bribery bill passed the senate and is now in the hands of the governor, which fittingly supplements the first named measure. It provides for suits for damages by affidavit by the bribee, whether he accepts the bribe or not, without liability to himself. A provision is incorporated, however, which makes it a penitentiary offense to falsely swear to an affidavit or attempt blackmail without cause.

The Indiana tariff reform league was organized last Tuesday and started off with flying colors. There were about two hundred representatives here from all parts of the state and nearly all were bright men, fully imbued with the spirit of radical tariff reform. The controlling element were strongly of the free trade order and the sentiments expressed were of that nature, almost without exception. A notable feature of the conference was a speech by Congressman Cooper, recently elected in the Fifth district, who was a member of the committee on resolutions. He said that he was a free trader whenever a system could be devised for raising revenues, which should take the place of our present system; that some of his personal friends had come to him during his canvass and asked him to modify his views on this subject, when addressing his people, but he did not follow the advice and "had said in nearly, or quite, all of the school houses in his district that whenever it could be done with safety to the institutions of his country that he was for sweeping away, entirely, all the custom houses and adopting absolute free trade," and he added that he received the largest vote of any candidate on the ticket, electors included. His remarks were warmly applauded, as were, also, those of Editor Ball of the Terre Haute Gazette, who proclaimed the same sentiments, with the declaration that no matter which party in the future was for free trade, he would take himself and his paper in its ranks.

The speech Tuesday evening by Hon. C. S. Darrow, of Chicago, was a fine effort, and was listened to by a large audience, many of whom were republicans. His first sentence was, "I have come here to address you on free trade—absolute, unadulterated free trade," which caused a roar to go up from the audience.

The president-elect of the league, Mr. Samuel P. Porter, is a manufacturer of furniture and a free trader. A majority of the vice-presidents and organizers—one from each congressional district—are free traders. Some of them are single tax men. Two brothers, Foster, one from Terre Haute and the other from Fort Wayne, both prosperous merchants, were present. They had attended the Chicago conference, and one of them speaking about the vote on the resolution which declared for free trade, and which was defeated, said that the free traders certainly outnumbered the conservatives, but they (the latter) had shouted their noes louder, and then they had the chairman with them.

L. P. CUSTER.

A Single Tax Bill in the Illinois Senate—Club Work at Meetings in Chicago.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Senator Burke introduced his single tax resolution in the state senate on March 8. It provides for the submission to the people at the general election in November, 1890, of an amendment to the constitution providing that all taxes for state, county or municipal purposes shall be levied only on the value of land, exclusive of the improvements thereon, and that the word "improvement" shall be held and construed to mean and include all buildings, structures, fences, hedges, ditches, drains, living trees planted by human hands, and developments of mines. The resolution was referred to the committee on revenue.

Land and labor club, No. 1, has changed its name to "Single tax club, No. 1, of Chicago." The following officers were elected on March 7: President, Warren Worth Bailey, 491 Cleveland avenue; vice-president, Miss Leonora E. Beck, 598 West Adams street; secretary and treasurer, T. W. Wittler, 426 Milwaukee avenue. The club meets every Thursday at 8 p.m., in Room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Strangers are welcome. On Thursday evening, March 21, the speaker will be C. S. Darrow. J. Z. White will lecture at the Madison street theater on Sunday evening, April 14, on "Taxation;" admission free.

T. W. WITTLER.

A Leader Won Over in Missouri.

KANSAS CITY, Kan.—Among the new converts in our state is Judge H. P. Vrooman, who has been a pioneer in all modern reforms for the past forty years. He has been leaning strongly towards our doctrines for some time, but not until he read Shearman's ad-

dress two weeks ago, delivered at Columbus, Ohio, before the legislative committee, did he become fully convinced. He has now announced himself a full fledged single tax man, and called a meeting at his office last night to form a single tax club. In pursuance of said call a club was organized, and Judge Vrooman was made president and F. M. P. Donnelly secretary.

Judge Vrooman was elected to the bench many years ago in Missouri on an independent ticket by a vote of nearly two to one. He was a candidate in this state in 1878 for chief justice of the supreme court on the greenback and labor ticket, and made a fine run; and again, in 1880, was nominated for governor by the same party by acclamation, and made an able canvass of the state. In 1884 he was nominated by the same party for chief justice, and also by the prohibition party, and received nearly five thousand votes more than Butler and St. John combined.

I wish that all readers of THE STANDARD in Kansas would write me with the view of adopting some plan of state organization whereby we can more speedily and effectively spread the light. F. M. P. DONNELLY, President State Central Committee of the United Labor Party, P. O. Box 450, Armourdale, Kansas City, Kan.

Gallant Work in Montana—The Territorial Council Passes the Australian Ballot Bill Unanimously.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, HELENA, MONT., March 5.

I am very glad to be able to report that my bill providing for the Australian system of voting has passed the council unanimously, and that there is great probability of its passing the house with equal unanimity. If it does so pass, there is hardly a doubt that it will receive the approval of the governor. We have amended it so that the booths may not be provided in precincts where there are less than twenty-five voters. The tickets are to have the names of candidates grouped under the names of the offices for which they are running. The official ticket is to be stamped with a rubber stamp containing the name of the precinct, county, county clerk, etc. There are some other slight changes from the Saxton bill to conform with the condition of affairs in this territory. The number of nominating electors for independent candidates is made one hundred for state offices, ten for county offices, and five for precinct or municipal officers.

A registration bill also is one of the laws which will be enacted by this legislature. Whenever these laws are printed I will send you copies, also to any other friends of electoral reform who may desire to see them.

With success in the shape of electoral reform, the Single tax association of Montana, which was organized a couple of months since, will probably push forward toward the accomplishment of other reforms. My paper will urge upon the coming constitutional convention the adoption of a section leaving the question of taxation within the power of the legislature.

WILL KENNEDY.

A Single Tax Candidate Cuts Down an Average Republican Majority.

AUBURN, N. Y.—As indicating a diminished dread of the doctrines of Henry George, it may interest STANDARD readers to learn that the undersigned, an avowed advocate of the single tax, was unanimously nominated by both the democratic and the labor conventions, to contest the election to the mayoralty of Auburn, held on Tuesday last, my opponent, the republican nominee, being Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr., a gentleman of unblemished reputation and of large wealth, which was freely used in more or less legitimate ways to promote his election, who has already filled the office during three terms. The result of the vote was my defeat by a majority of 836 in a total vote of 4,584—the normal republican majority of the town being 1,200.

Since the single tax was not directly in issue in the contest there was nothing personal to myself to regret in the result. But when one at considerable sacrifice consents to be put forward as the representative of the common people as opposed to the classes, it is specially discouraging to be openly made the victim of treachery, as was notoriously my case at the hands of the chief democratic leaders and their retainers. I shall not, however, sully the fair columns of THE STANDARD by dwelling on this aspect of the struggle, but will turn to the pleasant duty of noting the manly fidelity of many citizens, including a goodly number of republicans who, proof against the seductions of the venal and time-serving, voted for me on conviction of duty. That all our single tax friends were conspicuous among these goes without saying. Indeed it seems to be a prerequisite to a man's truly "seeing the cat" that he shall possess a certain moral rectitude. To be at once a genuine convert to the single tax and a political trickster is an inconceivable combination.

Since the earlier days of the late presidential canvass we have had here a vigorous single tax club in whose membership are men of such devotion to the new political gospel as entitles them to be called "stalwarts." The officers of the club are Daniel Peacock, president; Thomas Giblin and Herman Fontino, vice presidents, and Edward Vanderbosch, treasurer. I am the secretary. Meetings are held every Sunday at 3:30 p. m. in College hall.

H. W. BENEDICT.

FOR A SINGLE TAX CLUB HOUSE.

An Explanation of the Tontine Idea, and Its Application to the Single Tax House.

A number of friends writing to the secretary of the tontine say they do not yet understand (1) what the tontine scheme is; (2) how the revenue is to be raised to pay the interest on the money subscribed; and (3) what connection the Manhattan single tax club has with the tontine.

(1) Chambers's Encyclopedia says: "This term is derived from the name of Tonti, a Neapolitan, who seems to have been the first propounder of a scheme for a financial association, of which the prize or prizes were to accrue to the longest liver or livers. Generally, in an association, on what is called the tontine principle, a payment is made by each member of the association, and with the capital so formed an annuity, payable at the same rate until all the lives forming the association are extinct, is bought from some company or individual. This annuity is divided among the members according to age and premium paid by each; and on the decease of any member the surplus thence arising is divided among the survivors, and on the death of the last member of the association the total annuity reverts to the source from which it has hitherto emanated." Now, Mr. Steers, who broached the scheme for the purchase of a single tax home, proposed the application of the tontine principle, with a slight change when the affair is wound up. It is this: Upon the death of the last subscriber the property of the tontine will be handed over to the single tax movement.

(2) The revenue from which the interest is to be paid will come from the rental of the property purchased by the tontine.

(3) The Manhattan single tax club, as a club, has nothing to do with the tontine scheme; but nearly all its members are also members of the tontine. The club without doubt would be glad to have the tontine for a landlord.

The following subscriptions have been received since the last issue of THE STANDARD.

John E. Timmons, 5 West 71st st., city.....	2
M. McGrath, 108 East 11th st., city.....	2
Julius Scholter, 189 10th ave., city.....	2
Della Farrell, 220 East 39th st., city.....	1
Henry E. Stammus, 1426 Broadway, city.....	5
Madge Dalton, 108 East 11th st., city.....	8
G. Bassler, 504 5th ave., Brooklyn.....	1
James Malcolm, Jr., 161 11th st., South Brooklyn.....	25
R. W. Welch, 69 East Jersey st., Elizabeth, N. J.....	5
C. V. Harbottle, Pulaski, N. Y. (second subscription).....	15
A Worker in the Cause, Reading, Pa. (second subscription).....	3
L. A. Russell, 1092 Cass ave., Cleveland, Ohio (\$1 enclosed).....	1
Wm. C. Wulff, Station E, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1

Total for week.....	66
Previously acknowledged.....	1,516
Total to date.....	1,582

CHICAGO NOTES.

Effect of the Recent Tariff Reform Convention—The Single Tax Club in Its Third Year—Another Clergyman Comes Out for the Doctrine and Founda a Nineteenth Century Club—Newspaper Notes.

CHICAGO.—The tariff reform convention gave a sharp stimulus to our people in Chicago. The spirit of abolition in that great convention was so confirmed and its courage so infectious that many who had been lukewarm for months past were roused to action, and began once more to spread the light with old time zeal and enthusiasm. The convention has had the effect, moreover, of bridging the chasm of personal differences that has separated some of our people from the main body, in sympathy, if not in actual fact, and I am now encouraged to believe that the whole body will once more forge ahead shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart.

With the meeting of Thursday evening, Feb. 28, the Chicago single tax club (organized as land and labor club No. 1) closed its second year and elected officers for the third.

The membership of the club is steadily increasing. It now runs up into the hundreds and from two to five new names are enrolled each week. The circulation of literature and individual work is progressing quietly, but none the less effectively, and those among us who have the itch for writing ply the papers with letters whenever opportunity presents. The Open Court had three answers in its last issue to an attempted criticism of Mr. George and his ideas that appeared some weeks before; and The Statesman has recently contained several notable contributions from single tax men.

The Rev. Charles Ferguson, rector of the Episcopal church at Ravenswood, a suburb of Chicago, is a recent accession to our ranks. He has formed the Nineteenth Century club there, and he made a magnificent address on the subject of "Progress and Poverty" at the initial meeting. Another similar organization has been formed at Englewood, with a good membership, and another is contemplated at Woodlawn. It will thus appear that the brethren are not idle in this part of the vineyard; that, in fact, they are bending to their tasks, with courage and zeal, while evidences of success multiply about them.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

Didn't Think of That.

Rochester Post-Dispatch.

Henry George says this country doesn't need a president anyway. But if we didn't have a president what in the world would become of the Marine band?

THE PETITION.

The Number of Signatures Now More Than Thirty-Six Thousand.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE, }
NEW YORK, March 12. }

The week closing to-day has been one of the best, if not the best, that this committee has had. We began last week to feel the effects of sending out new blanks to those who had signed before, and this week the results have been even more gratifying. The receipts of petitions had fallen so that during the week ending February 19 there were received but 1,504, and during the week ending February 20, 1,805. Last week the number was 2,961, and this week it is 4,088. This brings the total number thus far received up to 36,121, and gives us every assurance that when next Tuesday's report is made the total will have reached 40,000 or more. Some correspondents seem to think this is slow progress, but they have no conception of the amount of labor involved in such a work as this. Petitions must be sent to everybody in order that those who might be willing to work shall not go unsupplied; yet, after all, the percentage of people who will really solicit signatures is very small.

The committee is now sending out new blanks and tracts to every person as soon as his name is received, but it will probably have to cut down in the amount of literature sent out, since the 120,000 tracts already distributed have not been half paid for by general subscription, and it would cripple the committee to draw on its regular funds any more largely for the purpose of distributing tracts.

The contributions during the week have been as follows:

R. L. Westinghouse, St. Louis, Mo.	\$1 00
J. C. McNeary, Sparrowbush, N. Y.	1 00
W. S. Brown, Stoneham, Mass.	2 00
P. Knapp, Baltimore, Md.	1 00
R. H. Welch, Elizabeth, N. J.	2 00
R. Fyfe, Sr., Grand Rapids, Mich.	1 00
Andrew Fyfe, Grand Rapids, Mich.	1 00
J. H. Felber, Hartington, Neb.	5 00
"A Friend," Brooklyn, N. Y.	3 00
J. A. B. Dilworth, New York city.	5 00
John A. Billings, Rockland, Mass.	1 00
"W. W.," New York city.	5 00
Billy Radcliffe, Youngstown, Ohio	1 00
M. J. Cornell, Rochester, N. Y.	1 00
J. C. Barnes, M.D., Hindsboro, Ill.	1 00
Stephen Harris, Paulina, Iowa	1 00
Protin Bros., New York city	1 00
David T. Lemley, Wilmington, Del.	1 00
C. F. Knight, Frankfort Spring, Pa.	2 00
Geo. E. Dummer, Washington, D. C.	1 00
Subscriptions in postage stamps.	95

Previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD. \$37 95
Total \$3,122 87
Total \$3,160 82

A largely increasing number of people are beginning to see how important this work is without the slightest regard to the action of congress. Extracts from the letters show this. One of the most important things thus far accomplished is the gathering of a list of "workers" in probably over a thousand towns and cities in all parts of the country who will shortly be asked to meet together to consider what plan can best be adopted for making use of the enrollment to promote local organizations.

Now that names are coming in so rapidly, a new momentum has been given to the work, and it will probably go forward with rapidly increasing good results.

The total number of signatures now enrolled is as follows:

Reported last week 32,033
Received during week ending March 12 4,088

Total 36,121

WM. T. CROSDALE, Chairman.

The following extracts from correspondence indicate the drift of opinion among single tax men throughout the country:

J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo, Col.—We entertain strong hope of securing the passage of Senator Newell's ballot bill this session. It is a copy of the Yates-Saxton bill with but a few modifications.

Mr. J. M. Place, Jeffersonville, Ind.—I do not think that readers of THE STANDARD are doing their duty in the matter of procuring signatures to the petition. If they were, more than two thousand names would come in every week. I have sent in an even hundred myself and almost anyone could do the same. If all did we should have one hundred thousand in a very short time.

James S. Tuttle, Temple, N. H.—"Progress and Poverty" ought to be used as a text book in our public schools. I shall recommend it to my neighbors.

Robert Cumming, Sparta, Ill.—Wm. Lloyd Garrison's Boston speech supplies a want hitherto unsupplied. I know of many cases of prejudice that that speech and those of Henry George and Parker Pillsbury will overcome.

James P. McNeary, Sparrowbush, N. Y.—There are five or six of us in this little village that have "seen the cat." The village contains a leather factory, which employs 150 men, and around it are scattered a few "buck-wheat farmers" among the rocky hills of a district that has received no economic education for more than half a century, save that of the protective theory. During the last campaign we got a splendid chance at them, which we took advantage of, and we got

them to listen to arguments for absolute free trade on a purely single tax basis, and if the campaign had lasted two months more we would have made free traders of them all. They used to call us single tax men cranks, but they have quit that.

H. L. Buchman, South Bethlehem, Pa.—Twenty-five of us have just been laid off from work for a few weeks. I tell them we are beginning to realize the benefits of protection. However, I shall use my leisure in working for the single tax.

A. Skliba, Boone, Iowa.—I was on the registry board yesterday registering voters for to-morrow's election (March 4). We have to choose an assessor and some other officers, and talking about the duties of the assessor gave me a good excuse to put forward the new theory, and the inclosed signatures are the result. One gentleman who signed the petition a few weeks ago is beginning to think the new theory is really the only way to reach the "bloated millionaires." Our city clerk says that he believes in the system for local purposes, but he refuses to sign the petition because he believes in tariff with a big, big "T."

S. C. Reese, Pana, Ill.—Nearly all the signatures I have obtained are from business men and real estate owners. I have received the signatures of people I had no idea of even approaching on the subject when I first began work.

W. A. Cronenburger, Cleveland, Ohio.—I intend to push the work. I now see the true purpose of the petition, which I did not see at first. I only wish I were able to contribute liberally to carry on the work.

C. C. Mogan, Lake Preston, S. Dakota.—People here are hard up, and they feel the pressing need of some reform, and for that reason this portion of the country is ready for the seed. A year ago they regarded us single tax men as cranks, but now they are coming to think there is something in our doctrines.

W. W. Gray, Lynn, Mass.—I do not exaggerate when I say that the land question is the absorbing question for discussion amongst the middle class of our citizens, while the labor organizations, although slow to grasp its principles, manifest a strong interest in it. A year and a half ago, at the organization of our league, the public pulse showed no consciousness whatever of Mr. George or his writings, while now they are constantly talked of. So much for progress. There are no harder working mortals in this land to-day than the single tax men of Lynn.

E. T. Chaney, Hermon, N. Y.—This makes 62 names from this little village. If the whole country could do as well in proportion you would have a majority of all the voters.

Thomas Howie, Vinita, Cherokee Nation.—It seems strange to me that up to last week you should have had only 27,267 signers to the tax petition, since it is so very easy for me to get signatures. I went to town yesterday for my mail and received the blanks you had sent out. As I am a farmer I have but little time to spare, but I stepped into the drug store and explained the object of the single tax and the petition. The result was I got the twelve blanks signed there in less than half an hour, and could have obtained many more signatures. When a man's soul is wrapped up as mine is in the single tax he can "hustle" for the cause. Every single tax man should be particular after he has read anything that has reference to the subject to turn it over to some one who may be affected by it.

Joseph Rohling, Newport, Ky.—The people here are beginning to ask questions about the single tax, and I think before four years have passed a great many in this city who voted for protection will not vote that way again, as they have already learned something since the last election. Wages are going down instead of up. The city is over head in debt, and taxes must be raised again. One of our large manufactories has therefore moved away, and another is getting ready to go to Canton, Ohio, where they are offered twenty acres of land free from taxes for ten years and a bonus of \$100,000.

Lemuel Potts, Camden, N. J.—Having concluded to devote a portion of the day to the single tax cause I started out with my petitions and in a short time procured nine signatures. Democrats signed readily, but Republicans hesitated, distrustful the single tax because it did not harmonize with a protective tariff.

W. H. Van Ornum, Ravenswood, Ill.—The general work is opening up splendidly since the tariff reform convention. It has given the cause a new impetus in Chicago and its vicinity. People are interested who could not be interested before.

E. Z. Butcher, Solomon City, Kan.—I like the plan of asking for signatures. It opens up conversation on our principles. Both our local papers have noticed my work for the cause.

James Barron, Minneapolis, Minn.—I think Minneapolis is doing her duty fairly well. We have aroused plenty of opposition, which has had a good effect in stimulating discussion.

A. R. Wynn, Toledo, Ohio.—The literature you sent out last week is doing good work. I noticed the effect of it as I came in contact with those who had received their packages.

P. J. Snay, Galion, Ohio.—I have recently taken employment here and find a new field

open to me for single tax agitation. But I am not having it all to myself, as J. A. Wright, the K. of L. general lecturer, addressed an audience here in the opera house last Monday evening and declared that the taking of land values in taxation would be a great improvement on the present system and a plan that would greatly benefit the industrial classes. He urged his hearers to carefully investigate the subject.

J. R. Hinkle, Gunnison, Col.—One scarcely meets a man nowadays who does not realize that something is wrong. They all feel a pressure in their industrial relations. It is certainly gratifying to note how rapidly the idea of the single tax is spreading.

John L. Frank, Wheeling, W. Va.—Our club in this city is adding new recruits to its roll at every meeting. We meet every Sunday evening and open our sessions with music and singing and then read a chapter from "Progress and Poverty" and follow it with short talks, after which we answer questions propounded by strangers.

Letters were written recently to numerous known single tax men who had done nothing in behalf of the petition, and the result has been most gratifying. One gentleman in Massachusetts writes: "On receipt of your communication reminding me of my remissness in not having signed the petition, I started on the war path after some of the parties with whom I had discussed single tax and tariff matters. Result, eight signatures from the first eight parties attacked, which signatures I inclose herewith. Please send me more petitions."

G. W. Avery, Peoria, Ill.—The men who have signed the inclosed blanks are successful leaders in this congressional district. "There are three lawyers, one ex-senator, one ex-congressman." Mr. Avery also sends an item from one of the daily papers which reprints the petition and says it "has been signed by a number of well known politicians and others equally strong in their party affiliation. There seems to be no difficulty in securing signatures."

Benjamin A. Wibbel, Louisville, Ky.—Our single tax league, of which I have the honor to be president, is arousing thought and discussion. We have some very able exponents of our doctrines here.

Q. A. Lothrop, Neponset, Mass.—We are moving even in this little village of Neponset. A year ago there were three single tax men here who belonged to the Henry George club of Ward, 24 Boston, of which this village is a part. Our strength has gradually increased and within a week we shall start a club here of a dozen or more members.

W. M. Brown, North Adams, Mass.—Many of these signers have a vague idea that our present system of raising revenue is not equitable and would willingly adopt one that would produce better results. If the question receives a thorough investigation at the hands of congress these gentlemen and many others will watch the inquiry with great interest and may be brought to see the advantage of the single tax.

Benjamin E. Bloom, St. Louis, Mo.—The presentation of the petition for signatures gives one a splendid opportunity to discuss the labor question in all its phases.

E. C. Cooley, Hornellsville, N. Y.—The advance in the work of education and discussion manifest here make me happy, as does also the good news THE STANDARD brings each week. Every few days some occurrence shows me the advance we are making here, and yet this is a most conservative place.

W. L. Crossman, Boston, Mass.—I inclose twenty-eight signed petitions. The majority of the signers are printers employed on one of the Boston daily papers. A few weeks ago it would have been necessary to explain the single tax before procuring their signatures, but now they gladly sign, thanks to the educational effect of Mr. George's lecture in Boston on February 22, under the auspices of the typographical union.

SOMETHING TO DO.

The Self-Running and Self-Sustaining Letter-Writing Corps.

The organized letter-writers for the single tax will be asked to go to work in a week or two. The only cause for delay is the necessity of waiting to hear from the back districts, so that the members may then be in vited to pull all together.

It would take a week to reply to the many correspondents who have sent in suggestions relating to the work of the corps. All such suggestions are read and carefully considered, but the writers will please not expect letters in reply, being assured that their ideas will be carried into effect in the circulars whenever practicable.

It would require columns of THE STANDARD, too, to contain even a small extract from, say, every third letter, were it desirable to show the spirit which so many single tax people have evinced in view of having a chance to go to work for the cause. The spirit has been found to be all right, however, and, without consuming unnecessary space in the paper, the plan will be put into operation.

Any information as to the work of the letter-writing corps can be had by addressing

J. W. SULLIVAN.

STANDARD office, New York.

KNIVES AND PLASTERS.

His (President Harrison's) argument for protection is flimsy and intemperate. The necessity for tax reduction is brushed aside with the suggestion that there are "extraordinary demands," scarcely less imperative than the necessary expenses of government, which will eat up the surplus.—[Philadelphia Record.

As for the surplus, Mr. Harrison brushes aside the dangers it presents as a matter of no consequence. National extravagance seems to him to be both a proper and pleasant way of disposing of it.—[New York Star.

For once we have a president who thoroughly understands the American (tariff) system and has the courage to avow without equivocation his convictions and the convictions of the party.—[New York Press.

President Harrison's treatment of the surplus question in his inaugural sounds very much like, "Let us spend all the money we can, gentlemen, and then if there's too much surplus we will see how it can be further reduced."—[New York World.

Few persons called to occupy his position and to announce the policy of a great, flourishing and progressive people, would think to defend the protective system by the recitation of the story of a century ago, when, as he says, "societies for the promotion of home manufactures and for encouraging the use of domestic in the dress of the people were organized in many of the states."—[Boston Pilot.

As a much larger proportion of the American people wear clothing and consume products of domestic production to-day than they did a hundred years ago, it was well for the president to direct attention to the fact that we are about to enter upon our second century of national life moved by the same considerations and impulses that moved our progenitors when they entered upon the first century of national life.—[Philadelphia North American.

President Harrison's inaugural address is, so far as it foreshadows his executive policy, a strong, clear, unequivocal document—such a one as was expected by those who understood the quiet strength of the man.—[Toledo Blade.

The heresies of free trade no longer echo from the White House.—[Utica Herald.

The consensus of opinion shows that President Harrison's inaugural address has found favor with the people generally.—[Brooklyn Standard-Union.

The principle of protection was distinctly indorsed and proclaimed from the portico of the capitol and with an emphasis so that the world cannot but note. So much the better, no doubt, for all concerned, that the position of the new republican administration upon the tariff question has been thus sharply defined in the beginning.—[New York News.

President Harrison is a protectionist, and following his own political faith and the impulse of party chiefs he makes the issue of protection so clearly and positively that if his party should hereafter attempt to run away from it they would have to run away from him also.—[New York Herald.

He neglected to observe that the surplus is fattened on the necessities of the poor to feed the luxuries of the rich.—[New York Evening World.

The president's attitude toward the tariff is in brief to keep up the war rate, and to use its undoubted advantages to its rich beneficiaries as a means of capturing some of the southern states.—[New York World.

No one will be surprised who read President Harrison's speeches when a candidate that he strongly urges the propriety of not postponing expenditures which will presently be necessary for the national welfare or development.—[New York Tribune.

Mr. Harrison may be congratulated on having discovered a new name for a policy that enhances the price of the people's necessities. He calls it commercial emancipation. This joke is decidedly rich.—[Toronto Globe.

He believed in the protection of our home industries and of preserving our home markets for American manufacturers.—[Portland, Me., Express.

A more distinct or a more prompt declaration for protection could not be expected or desired.—[Pittsburg Times.

The first issue discussed is the tariff. At the end of a century he finds it an incident worthy of attention that there should be a revival of the same patriotic interest in the preservation and development of domestic industries, and the defense of our working people against injurious foreign competition."—[Pittsburg Commercial Gazette.

The new secretary of the treasury is hardly seated in his official chair yet. But the holders of government bonds are already figuring on the likelihood of his buying bonds more liberally than ex-Secretary Fairchild did. The bids for four per cent bonds yesterday in Wall street were 129. Last Saturday the price was 128½. There is nothing reprehensible about this. The bondholders have a good thing, and know it. They think that, if Mr. Harrison speaks for his administration, they can force the treasury to buy their bonds at an advance on present prices.—[New York Star, March 7.

The "home market" proposition logically carried out is simply this: Cut off one-half of the farmer's customers (the foreigners), in order that all the farmers of America can compete for the other half—the home market. This is a sound business principle according to the "students of markets," but we "theorists" can't see it.—[Rockville, Ind., Tribune.

One of the boys who keeps going the republican organization in a district in which his party is in a hopeless minority told me last week that the active workers of his club all expected offices under the new administration. "We're dividing up the jobs," he said. "We've kept the thing going when there was nothing to be had except expenses. Isn't it only fair play to open up the good places for us now?"

A printer who attended Henry George's lecture at Tremont temple in Boston says that the man in the box office expressed his surprise at the character of the audience present on that occasion. This man knows Boston's lecture-going audiences by sight. He expects to see certain people at a religious meeting, certain others at a scientific lecture, and again others present on sensational occasions. He says he got ready for rough looking communists when he was told that Henry George was to have the hall. But several days before the lecture his religious and scientific people began to come, some in their carriages, to buy reserved seats, and the audience as a whole turned out to be a good average of Boston's respectable people. The ticket seller is consequently half won over, though he did not hear the address.

A single tax man has been asking me what he ought to have done on a recent occasion when he was embarrassed by being arraigned for the unpardonable sin of being a single taxer. He was dining as one of a party of ten or twelve, none of whom, he supposed, knew or cared much about man's natural rights or social reform. They liked the world as they have found it. One of them, however, asked him if it was true he was a land communist. He explained in the briefest words possible what was his creed, and, it not being the place to get up a controversy, started another subject. There was present at the table, however, a young lawyer, a little, thin, light fellow, with ferret eyes and a large mouth, who saw an opportunity not to be missed. He oiled his jaws, and for fifteen minutes poured out the whole of the exposure of the George fallacies, as he had gleaned it from many sources, including the *Evening Post*. Our single tax friend preserved silence, but was pained to observe that every one present thought the sprig of a lawyer had convicted him of crankism. He still believes he observed the proprieties, but he feels he was a martyr to them.

What the taxation of the unearned increment of New York city would amount to may be imagined in the light of the increased ground rents of a part of the Astor estate situated on the east side. The lot on the northeast corner of Fourth street and Avenue A, 25 by 100 feet, the building covering which is No. 58 Avenue A and Nos. 187 and 189 East Fourth street, has heretofore paid the Astors \$500 annual ground rent. Hereafter it will pay \$1,400. The owner of the house has raised the rent of the clothier at the corner from \$125 to \$135 per month, and that of the wine merchant in the basement from \$40 to \$45. The other tenants, storekeepers and families, are expecting an increase on May 1. On the southeast corner of the same street is a lot of the same dimensions, on which is built a house 25 by about 75 feet, in which there is but one business place, a grocery. The ground rent, up to the present, \$500 or \$600, is advanced this year to \$1,300. Lots on Avenue A, from Fourth to Seventh streets, which have drawn from the users \$375, will hereafter tax them \$900 a year. In all, the increase in these grounds is about \$75,000—not quite enough to add a complete diamond necklace to the Astor jewels.

The single tax people of the neighborhood are not permitting the excitement to go down with nothing more than a protest from the rent-payers. They are at work showing the injustice of the system which allows an Astor or any one else to reap where he has not sown. Single tax publications are being spread about in the locality, and the discussion of the subject is on, tenants listening who have heretofore felt no interest in the question. There is talk of holding a tenants' meeting in one of the halls in the district, and it is looked on as a certainty that single tax ideas will not be kept in the background if it takes place.

I overheard this interesting scrap of conversation the other day at a lunch counter:

"Well, I was a free trader, too, when I was at college; but since I have been out in the world I have become a protectionist. Now, can you tell me why it is that so many men, though taught free trade at college just as I was, afterwards become protectionists, just as I did?"

"I don't know that I can, but I rather suspect the reason to be in part the poor quality of the free trade they were taught, and in part their neglect of logic and moral philosophy." **GRIFFE.**

WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS SAY.

The Sam Randalls and the New York Suns can drop out of the ranks or fall in line and keep step with the music. They are only a detriment to the party now.—[Fulton, Ill., Journal].

If Sam Randall is a democrat, Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson were frauds.—
[Sheboygan County, Wis., Times.]

Tariff reform was the issue in the campaign of 1888; ignorance and money were on the side of a protective tariff and it won. There may be one more campaign in which tariff reform will be the issue. Afterward the contest will be absolute free trade against a protective tariff.—[Fulton, 111, Journal.

As certain as he lives, President Cleveland will yet be a power in the land in all matters of tariff reform. Even now the masses are gravitating toward him as their natural leader. They will listen eagerly to his counsels and take his advice upon all occasions, because he is frank, sincere, and very much in earnest.—[Kansas City Times.]

It is a little singular that, just as General Harrison was passing through Pennsylvania on his way to be inaugurated president the other morning, he should be obliged to read in the papers of a wholesale cut in the wages of iron furnace employes pretty generally throughout the state, while thousands are being thrown out of work both there and in the coal mines.—(Mobile, Ala., Register.

The title to land rests on fraud or force. The value of land is made by the increase of population by births or immigration. All men have an equal right to the surface of the earth. If they are denied this right they starve, steal or beg. Land speculation means dealing in men's labor. Slavery was the same thing. To take men's labor without return is a form of slavery. Take by a tax this value of vacant land and abolish the blank spots in our city.—[Parkersburg, W. Va., Index.

Attention, Cincinnati Single Tax Men!

CINCINNATI.—At the last meeting of the single tax club of Cincinnati the undersigned were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for the purpose of securing more suitable quarters. It is the opinion of the committee that if a more attractive place of meeting could be provided, it would augment both the efficiency and membership of the club. It is proposed to secure a house of moderate size, in as central a location as possible, to be open at all times to the reception of friends of the cause, the rent not to exceed \$25 or \$30. The regular contributions of the members of the club are already sufficient to pay the ordinary running expenses, and it has been decided to start a subscription list, the proceeds of which are to be set aside for the sole purpose of rent. The committee have already been assured of monthly payments to the amount of \$12, and would appeal to all single tax friends in this vicinity for additional subscriptions to make the enterprise a success. All those who wish to see a permanent home established in this city are requested to meet the undersigned at the Dennison house parlor on Monday, March 18, at 8 p. m. DAVID DEBECK, M. D.,

DAVID DEBECK, M. D.,

SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas B Angier, 199 Allen street.
 Albany, N Y.—Robert Baker, 173 Madison avenue; J C Rosiari, 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
 Allamaba, Mo.—Mrs Josephine Snahr.
 Altona, Pa.—Joseph Sharp, Jr., secretary Single Tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C Ronizec, 924 First avenue.
 Amsterdam, N Y.—Harvey Book.
 Anacostia, D C.—G Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia telephone, Harrington and Monroe streets.
 Anaheim, Cal.—James B Hasset.
 Anton Chico, N M.—Lewis T Granstam.
 Ashtabula, Ohio.—A D B Fong.
 Astoria, Ga.—John C Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
 Auburn, Me.—H G Casey, secretary Single Tax club.
 Auburn, N Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H W Bonediet, secretary Single Tax club, College hill.
 Augusta, Ga.—S C Seibert, 523 Lincoln street.
 Avon, N Y.—Homer Smith.
 Ballston Spa, N Y.—Richard Feecey, 63 Milton avenue.
 Baltimore, Md.—John W Jones, sec Single Tax league of Maryland, 126 N Bond street; John Salmon, Pres Hears Club, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 1435 E Baltimore street.
 Bayside, Long Island, N Y.—Antonio M Molina.
 Briceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
 Bristol, Pa.—J C De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
 Bristol, Dak.—W E Brokaw.
 Binghamton, N Y.—E W Dundon, 33 Malden lane.
 Boston, Mass.—Edwin M White, 208 Main street; Charles L Rice, 102 Bowdoin street; William Halden, Chairman Garland, chairman Single Tax league, Jamaica Plain.
 Brooklyn, N Y.—George E West, M D, 49 Clermont avenue, president Single Tax club.
 Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Seaman.
 Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single Tax organization.
 Canisteo, N Y.—H W Johnson, P O box 265.
 Canon City, Col.—Frank P Blake, M D.
 Canton, O.—S J Harriott, M D, president single tax club.
 Cape May City—Wm Porter, box 57.
 Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
 Charles City, Iowa.—Frank Smith, M D, office opposite Union hotel.
 Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Whittier, secretary Single Tax club, 126 Milwaukee avenue.
 Cincinnati, O.—Dr David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; J. C. Newlands and stationery store, 273 Vine street; headquarter Single Tax club, 396 Vine street; Cleveland, O.—M M Mastin or Alex G Duke.
 Clanton, Ala.—C W Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L Carter, 182 Chestnut street.
 Clinton, Ind.—I. O. Bishop, editor *Argus*.
 Colfax, N Y.—J S Pratt.
 Colton, Cal.—Charles F Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.

Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J V Lanston.
Dighton, Mass.—Wm H. Brewster.
Dunkirk, N Y.—Francis Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass.—J F Harrington, St John's Literary Institute.
East Northport, Long Island, N Y.—J K Rudyard.
East Rindge, N Y.—Charles E Brewster.
Elizabeth, N J.—Benjamin Urner.
Elmhurst, N Y.—William Bergman, 712 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill.—W B Steers.
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—R D Ferry.
Farmington, Iowa.—P W Rockwell.
Gardner, Ill.—T S Cumming.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N Y.—Herbert Lormer.
Glendive, Mont.—A H Sawyer.
Glens Falls, N Y.—George H Broome.
Grovesville, N Y.—Wm C Wood, 31 D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N Y.—Henry L Hinton.
Harrison, Tex.—J McCollum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H Felber.
Haverhill, Mass.—George F Brockway.
Helena, Mont.—Judge J M Clements.
Hornesville, N Y.—George H Van Winkle.
Hot Springs, Ark.—W Albert Chapman.
Houston, Texas, N Y.—F S Hammond.
Houston, Tex.—H F King, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, N Y.—Thurston M Adams, M D.
Illon, N Y.—George Smith, P O box 562.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L P Custer, president Single tax league, W U Tel Co; Chas H Krause, bookkeeper, Vonheuer's hardware store, E Washington street.
Jackson, N Y.—Charles A Frugless, 75 East State street.
Janine, N J.—B Joseph.
Jersey City, N J.—Waldana Miller, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Erie avenue.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas E Reid, 2,223 Woodland avenue.
Keithsburg, Ill.—M McDonald.
Kentwood, N Y.—Thurston M Adams, M D.
Leedsburgh, N Y.—James McAlau, 21 Eighteenth st.
Lonsdale, RI.—Dr L F Garvin.
Lowiston, Me.—D Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James Erwin.
Madison, Wis.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street; W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or A Vinette, P O Station F.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kidder street.
Lytle, Minn.—C F Wenham.
Lynchburg, Va.—Thomas Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak.—E H Evenson.
Manajoy City, Pa.—J N Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Manistee, Mich.—Albert Walkley or W R Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W J Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Mariboro, Mass.—Geo A E Reynolds.
Marlborough, N Y.—C H Baldwin.
Mart, Tex.—J L Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Massville, Mont.—S F Ralston, Sr.
Mayfield, Ok.—Vern Burnett, 75 East South street.
McAllen, Indian Ocean—Robert A Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street.
Middletown, Conn.—John G Hopkins, P O box 350.
Milwaukee, N Y.—Clas H Butler, P O box 11.
Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—C J Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E L Ryder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala.—E Q Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—A O Pitcher, M D.
Mt Vernon, N Y.—J B Lettberg.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Camm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P H Carroll, 235 N High street, secretary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—Q A Lothrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N J.—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seitz, 1 North Broadway.
New Britain, Conn.—D J McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Mer rime assembly, Herald office.
New Orleans, La.—John S Waiters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 89 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Pacific land association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P O drawer 5.
North Springfield, Mo.—K P Alexander, 1826 North Boonville street.
Oberlin, Ohio.—Edw B Haskell.
Ocala, Fla.—George Ball, pres Single tax association.
Timothy Horan, sec, 85 Railroad street.
Olmahia Wash Ter.—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John E Embien, 822 Virginia avenue.
Orlando, Dak.—R H Garland, member Tax reform asso ciation.
Oswego, N Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
Passaic, N J.—J J Barnard, P O box 181.
Paterson, N J.—E W Nellis, Chairman Passaic county single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
Peabody, Va.—Va.—W I Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawtucket, RI.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill.—J W Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street, or H C Stetson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N Y.—Charles R Hood, P O box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
Portland, Ore.—S B Riggen, 45 Stark street, R H Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N Y.—William C Alba.
Providence, RI.—Robert Grieve, 33 Button street; Dr Wm Barker, pres Rhode Island single tax as so ciation.
Pulaski, N Y.—CV Harbottle.
Rayenswood, Ill.—W Van Orman.
Reading, Pa.—Chas S Prizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corkhill, 251 Penn street.
Reynolds's Bridge, Conn.—John Carreer, box 20.
Richmond, Ind.—D J McGinnis, 404 south Third street.
Ridgewood, N Y.—George H Bullfinch.
River Falls, Wis.—George H Bates.
Rochester, N Y.—Charles Avril, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N J.—Read Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—T H Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M Mine.
Seattle, Wash Ter.—P P Morrow.
Seneca Falls, N Y.—Wm H Adkins, P O box 54.
Sharon, Conn.—Charles L Brannan, Single tax club.
Sheekamook, Pa.—Morris Bradburn, president Single tax club; Thos Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S H Howes.
South Gaston, N C.—C W L M Perkins.
Sparks, Nev.—G A Greaser, secretary N Y.—C L Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheelan, sec retary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa.—J W Schrimpf, secretary Tariff re form club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H McCrex, secretary Sangamon land club, 623 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H A W Juneman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—Hamlin Russell, president Single tax league, 276 Bacon street; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary, room 3, 319 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal.—D H Rogers.
Stoneham, Mass.—Dr W Symington Brown.
Syraeuse, N Y.—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; H R Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F A Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 35 Greene street.
Toledo, N Y.—Wm Adelsperger, secretary Single tax club, No 1, 112 Summit street.
Tacoma, Wash Ter.—F C Clarke, 1306 K st.
Trenton, N J.—H R Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Truy, N Y.—H B Martis.
Tuckahoe, N Y.—Arthur O Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McAuliffe.
Utica, N Y.—Thomas Swenev, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M Hackley, grocer, south west corner First and Catharine.
Victoria, B C.—W I Sinton, E and N R R Co.
Vincentnes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 3 and 5 Opera block.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakefield, RI.—David Harrower.
Washington, D C.—William Geddes, 1719 G street, N W.
West Grove, single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—William M Buell.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N Y.—B Stoddard.
Wheeling, W Va.—John L Frank, 2307 Elm street.
Whitstone, Long Island, N Y.—George Harwell.
Whitehouse, Mass.—George Hart, star street; Thos Douglas, president Single tax league.
Wilmington, Del.—Geo W Reor, 717 West Ninth street.
Woodstock, Ill.—A W Cumins.
Worcester, N Mass.—E K Page, Lake View.
Yonkers, N Y.—Wm H. Brewster.
Youngstown, O.—Bny Badgley, Radcliffe house.
Yorkville, Colo.—Wm L Lounsbury, Dr Van Buren street.

OYSTER FISHERIES.

LAWS GOVERNING THEIR USE IN VARIOUS PLACES.

Great Advantages of the Leasing System Over the Others—A Complete Answer to the New York Evening Post—Testimony of Authorities—Chesapeake Bay, Long Island, Connecticut and Rhode Island Fisheries—Great Revenues That Might Be Made to Flow Into the Public Treasuries.

The article by Professor John K. Cowen on oyster cultivation in Chesapeake bay, which recently appeared in the Baltimore Sun, has since been used as an argument in favor of making oyster plots private property. Professor Cowen's argument was, however, not for private ownership, but for private possession and security of tenure; he proposed a system of leasing whereby the state of Maryland would get enormous revenues, and thousands of capitalists be induced to go into oyster cultivation. He said that the communal system now in vogue, whereby no one is permitted to have secure possession of any particular plot, was depleting the oyster beds of Chesapeake bay, inasmuch as the oystermen would not cultivate the beds when they were not sure of owning the oysters they raised. Professor Cowen bases his article on a report of Professor Brooks to the Maryland legislature in 1884, that showed how enormously the state revenues might be increased by leasing the oyster beds. He says of this report:

The ground thought of Professor Brooks's report is that the demand upon our oyster beds is beyond their natural productive power; that the remedy is not to restrict and obstruct those who gather them, but to develop and increase the supply; that this can be done by the state leasing the oyster lands to private individuals, who will then have an interest in developing and preserving them.

And then confusing the term "private property" with security of possession under a lease, Professor Cowen says:

The recommendation of Professor Brooks, therefore, rests upon the solid foundation of a broad economic principle, viz., private property in land, and upon proof that wherever this principle has been applied to oyster grounds abundance has been the result, and wherever the Maryland principle of state ownership has been tried the beds were soon exhausted.

Of the present system he says:

Let us see what is the present condition of our oyster legislation. Roughly stated, it is as follows: Certain ill-defined and ill-bounded parts of the Chesapeake and its tributaries and of other oyster grounds are set apart for dredging. Certain other portions are set apart for "tonging," and dredging therein is prohibited. There is also a right given to individuals to take up five acres of land under water forming no part of a natural bed of oysters, but the title to the five acres seems to be a license only, revocable at the pleasure of the state, and the licensee has no assurance of a permanent holding to warrant his going to expense and trouble. For any large purpose the "five-acre" legislation is practically worthless. The dredgers have been taking oysters in the "tonging grounds," and hence the "battles," the "defeats," and "victories," the "Trafalgars," and the "Armadas" of our oyster navy. It will be seen at a glance that the entire basis of our system of oyster culture is state ownership of the land on which oysters grow, and the opening of this land at certain seasons to everybody who wishes to gather them; provided, however, that in certain places dredges shall not be used.

In this article the statement is made that "in Rhode Island, New York and Connecticut the system of oyster farms under private ownership has taken the place of state ownership, and the most remarkable results have been achieved. Connecticut began the system of oyster farms about three years before Professor Brooks's report, and in the short space of three years this industry became a formidable rival of that of our own state."

Connecticut and New York Beds.

With a view of finding out what is the present system under which the oyster lands of New York and the adjoining states are held, a reporter of THE STANDARD called on Edward P. Doyle, secretary of the fisheries commission, at his office in the Potter building. In answer to questions asked him Mr. Doyle gave the following information:

In both Connecticut and New York oyster grounds, "perpetual franchises" for the purpose of shell fish cultivation are now being sold, which franchises can be resold if the owner so desires. But these franchises do not apply to any of the so-called "natural beds" where oysters grow without cultivation. These natural beds are in all cases reserved for the common use of whoever chooses to use them.

In New York state the franchises that are sold apply to plots in Long Island sound where in many cases the water is ten or twelve fathoms deep. No one person is allowed to take more than 250 acres. All these beds are practically what might be classed under the single tax system as free land, for the purchase price of the franchises when sold at auction is very small and the annual rental value would be almost nothing. The

reason for giving franchises to the cultivators is simply to guarantee security of possession and protection to improvements. When a cultivator buys such a franchise his first step is to spend a considerable sum, perhaps far more than the purchase price, in dredging, etc., if that is necessary. Then he has to plant his oysters, and wait for a crop; and very likely two times out of three the crop will not amount to anything. Sometimes the oysters never grow there at all.

A plot too, almost invariably, becomes temporarily useless after a few years, when the cultivator ceases to use it and takes other plots. When a plot is not used for two consecutive years the franchise is revoked and offered at auction to the highest bidder. The whole business is very risky. A northeasterly storm continuing two or three days, for instance, might have the effect of completely washing away all that the cultivator had planted, in spite of the depth of the water.

As to the valuable beds under Great South bay and Gardener's and Peconic bays, Long Island, they all belong to the various townships surrounding them, and do not come under state control. The system pursued by these townships is to lease the plots annually or bi- or triennially to citizens, the amount held by one person being limited. Large revenues are thus obtained by the towns, and opportunities given to the citizens for profitable employment.

The system in Connecticut is very much like that in New York. The "natural beds" are open to all, while franchises are granted to the deep-water plots.

In regard to the Chesapeake bay beds, Mr. Doyle said that they were the most valuable in the world, as far as natural productiveness went. Maryland should get a great revenue from the beds, as they could be rented provided security of possession was guaranteed. The oysters now gathered from these waters, under the present system of common ownership and very little cultivation, make up fully 65 per cent of the total oyster crop in America, and over half of the oyster crop of the world.

The Rhode Island Fisheries.

In addition to the foregoing, Robert Grieve, of Providence, R. I., supplies the following information relative to the fisheries of that state, where all rights are reserved to all the people, and where all have equal freedom to use them, save in the case of some oyster plots, which, requiring particular care to produce best results, are rented on leases long enough to assure security of tenure. Mr. Grieve says:

The old charter of 1663, granted by Charles the Second, gave to the inhabitants the rights to fish in "any arms of the sea or salt water, rivers and creeks, where they have been accustomed to fish; and to build and set upon the waste land belonging to said colony and plantation, such wharves, stages and work-houses as shall be necessary for the salting, drying and keeping of their fish, to be taken or gotten upon that coast."

Under this provision of the charter, the rights of the shore fisheries had always been understood to mean that not only could fish be taken from the waters by line or net, but the shores below high water mark were free to all to dig for clams or quahaugs, and further, that all the people had the right of access to and along the shore in order to avail themselves of these privileges. The constitution of 1842, which supplanted the old charter, very carefully guarded these rights, stating in the Seventeenth section of the First article that "the people shall continue to enjoy and freely exercise all the rights of fishery and the privileges of the shore to which they have been heretofore entitled under the charter and usages of this state. But no new right is intended to be granted nor any existing right impaired by this declaration."

From time to time, from the revolution down to the present, there has been legislation defining the fishing rights, and of course, as in all legislation, private interest has on numerous occasions tried to gain at the expense of the general interest. But the fishermen have been very tenacious, persevering and alert, and the old rights have in the main been preserved inviolate. Between 1810 and 1850, however, it became evident that with the increase of population and the consequent greater demands upon them, the natural oyster beds would be in a short time exhausted. After some agitation a new law was passed which empowered the state to lease some of these nearly exhausted natural beds for the cultivation of oysters. This was done, and in the course of a few years the state was deriving an income from these leases. The leasing began about 1850. For the first few years the income was very small, being inside of \$100 annually, but it steadily increased until, in 1885, it amounted to \$11,920, leaving a net income to the state of over \$10,000.

All matters relating to the shell fisheries are in charge of three commissioners who in their office have complete charts of the bay, and have charge of the letting of the oyster farms. A rent of \$10 an acre is charged for beds that are in good locations and in the proper depth of water, six feet at mean low water. About one hundred acres are let at one dollar an acre in water over twelve feet deep at mean low water for the purpose of cultivating seed oysters. In 1887 about 800 acres were leased at \$10 per acre. Since that time a number of the beds have been abandoned,

mainly because of the failure of the Virginia oysters which were transplanted here.

The fishermen at first strongly opposed the leasing of beds to private parties, and a great deal of the fishery legislation has had for its object the reconciling of public rights with private grants. As a consequence large areas are reserved as free fishing grounds; all the shores, without exception, are free to the inhabitants to dig clams or take quahaugs, and scollops can be taken even over the leased oyster beds. This does not, however, interfere with the rights of the lessees as the scollop is not attached like the oyster nor a burrower in the sand and mud like the clam or quahaug. Some oyster beds are especially excluded by law from being leased because their exclusive use by private parties for this purpose would interfere with the general right to the other shell fish. The fact, however, that oysters cannot be successfully cultivated in the bay inside the six foot line practically leaves the clam and quahaug fisheries unmolested, as the shell fish are usually found between low and high water or in shoal water just below high water.

One of the localities reserved by law to public fishing is Greenwich bay, an extensive sub bay on the western side of Narragansett bay. No portion of its area can be leased for oyster cultivation. This exclusion was made because of the fact that this body of water has always been a great resort for the scollops, and the cultivation of oysters on its shoals would have destroyed its value for scollop fishermen. Greenwich bay covers from six to eight square miles. These "rights of the shores" enabled many families when the factories closed some years ago in the village of East Greenwich, to keep the wolf from the door. Such a means of income to the common people has tended to keep alive that spirit of independence and equality here that industrial conditions elsewhere have done so much to efface.

The oyster farms are leased for periods of not less than five nor more than ten years. The law providing for the letting of the beds in water over twelve feet deep was passed in 1882. At the present session of the general assembly, an amendment has been proposed to the fishery laws providing that for these deep water beds a perpetual franchise be given by the state, a sale of this right being made at one dollar per acre, and an annual rent of one dollar being charged hereafter forever. There are some objections to this change on the score that it is a rich man's law, and in the opinion of experts it would revolutionize present methods and require the introduction of steam dredgers as is common in other oyster localities. There is not thought to be any likelihood of this bill passing, at least in its present form.

The tenacity with which the Rhode Island fishermen have always contended for the preservation of the shore rights was illustrated in an emphatic manner by the case of William Beach Lawrence. When he laid out his estate at Ochre Point, Newport, many years ago, he attempted to obstruct the passage along the cliffs which here front the sea, by a strong stone wall. The fishermen pulled it down as often as it was erected, and a lawsuit eventually grew out of the controversy, which resulted in the reaffirmation of the "rights of the shore" and their definition in some degree as far as the matter in controversy was concerned. As a result to-day the visitor to Newport can walk along the cliffs and all the shores at Newport, practically through the private grounds of the nabobs of America, who would be exclusive if they could, but are prevented by the old King Charles charter, which thus has been the means of retaining to all a minute portion of the common right to natural opportunities now so thoroughly appropriated and fenced in.

Is not this a rare and interesting story that the common right to the shore should thus have been preserved against the usurpation of the rich and the encroachment of the selfish not by any theoretic belief in principles, but by the provision of an old charter granted by a dissolute English king, who probably did not understand its terms, to a company of English adventurers who lived in a new settlement, a mere village of rude houses, more than two centuries ago. The people of Rhode Island enjoying these rights early learned to prize them and have thus been enabled to preserve them from destruction, furnishing to us at present a genuine example of the operation of the single tax. Not a perfect example by any means, but perhaps therefore all the more useful as a lesson. Because if great and lasting public benefits result from a partial and halting application how much benefit will result from a thorough application! The first public and unrestricted use of the oyster beds shows the necessity that always exists of giving private possession with security of tenure. This necessity in the case of land ashore has resulted with us in private ownership with all its attendant evils; but in the case of the oyster flats the old charter interposed, and only private possession could be given for a term of years. The benefit resulting thereby to the state has been an annual income which if the matter is properly managed, must continually increase; for the reaches of the bay suitable to oyster culture are very extensive. Then the lessees cannot sell their right to any particularly choice location at an advanced

figure, as they would most certainly do if they owned the beds in fee simple, or even had a perpetual franchise. That in fact is the objection to the proposed new law to let the beds for seed oysters in water over the twelve foot line on a perpetual franchise, selling this franchise at one dollar per acre, with annual rent of one dollar. The most available and convenient seed beds would in time come to have a value that could be sold if possession was made perpetual, and this would probably be in contravention of the terms of the charter and the constitution. Security of possession can quite easily be given without selling or giving away the land under water to anybody at a dollar an acre or any other sum. If the people of Rhode Island had the same legal right of access to land as they have to the shores and waters there would be no labor question and no poor.

ROBERT GRIEVE.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The lenten exodus to the various winter and spring resorts in Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and the West Indies has commenced. It is said that the more active of the four hundred are very much in need of the quiet that a six weeks' lounge at Old Point Comfort or the Hot Springs will give. There has been a ceaseless round of fashionable gatherings for over six months, and all the care of physicians and attendants has not prevented their arduous social duties from telling on the leaders' health.

A newspaper dispatch from Boston, dated March 5, says: The body of a man was found lying in a dark corner on Kneeland street at midnight yesterday, with a revolver tightly gripped in the right hand. The body was identified as that of John J. Dundon, who was a bartender and had a family. It is presumed that his suicide was induced by poverty, he having been out of work for some time.

Senator Stanford paid \$500 for windows from which to view the inaugural parade, Senator Hearst \$300 and Ira Davenport \$150.

The principal of the Avenue C school, of the Industrial aid society, Avenue C and Fourth street, reports the case of Mrs. K., a woman with three small children, living on the fourth floor of a tenement house in Willett street. Her husband's health has been failing for the last three years, and recently he was removed to the hospital. His wife is also ailing, and has been forbidden by the school physician to do any laborious work, but Mrs. K. takes in washing, and in the evening and night sews carpet rags, receiving for her labor two cents per pound. She is now in arrears for rent, and is scarcely able to work long enough to secure bread for her children. This family, with many others now in great destitution, have been visited and relieved in a limited way, but they require more assistance than the principal has it in her power to bestow. Their needs are most urgent.

Estimating Jay Gould's income at only \$3,000,000 a year—it is very likely more than double that sum—we find that for each of the 300 working days of the year he is in receipt of \$10,000. His son George will probably take good care of what comes to him for he has had good training and is now one of his father's shrewdest lieutenants.

A poor wretch named McPherson, who was dying from consumption, cut his throat two or three weeks ago with the intention of ending his misery. Last week he was brought into the court of General Sessions, too sick to stand upright and moaning with pain. Judge Gildersleeve said to him: "The kindest act I can do for you is to send you to the penitentiary for two months. They will put you in the hospital as soon as you reach there." He will now have a chance of dying in comparative comfort.

A branch of the women's relief corps auxiliary to the G. A. R., has presented a dress to Mrs. President Harrison. It is described as a magnificent reception dress, cut princess back, decollete, V-front, demi-sleeves, both neck and sleeves fitted with the finest of duchesse lace. From each shoulder to the waist of the dress are beautifully painted white lilacs, and on wide panels down each side of the skirt are elaborately painted bunches of purple, blue, pink and white lilacs, which can scarcely be distinguished from the natural flowers.

A man named Hubbard, of 95 Sheffield street, Jersey City, was arrested for stealing two suits of clothes a few days ago. When asked what he had to say, Hubbard pleaded that he had a sick wife at home, had no work and was hard up. This statement was confirmed by the officer. In view of this fact the owner of the stolen goods did not press the charge.

At the auction sale of Oriental porcelains in New York last Friday the piece which brought the highest price was a beaker-shaped vase "black hawthorn" of a deep black glaze, with finely painted decorations of hawthorn blossoms, birds, bamboo and rocks. The vase was very graceful and stood thirty-two inches high, including the carved stand. Its diameter was twelve inches. The vase was bought by Charles A. Dana for \$1,000. There was but one bid. Two vases, blue de nankin, cylindrical shape, of egg-shell texture and cracked with decorations, sold for \$500 each. They were sixteen inches high and eight inches in diameter. They were bought by E. Charles.

A poorly dressed old man, supposed to be a German named John Carover, slept in the lodging room of the Leonard street police station last night, and left there this morning in a very sickly condition. He had wandered but a little way down the street when he sank to the sidewalk, dead.—[Evening World, March 5.]

The price paid by an English woman for a court dress is estimated to be from \$500 to \$750—by an American from \$1,000 to \$1,500.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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The brief item that appeared in the daily papers to the effect that the ministry of New South Wales has been defeated on a question of protection, and that Sir Henry Parks will form a free trade cabinet, is of more than passing interest to American free traders. Until about the middle fifties both New South Wales and Victoria were free trade colonies, but since then Victoria has had a protective tariff while New South Wales, except for a very brief period, has remained free trade. The effect of these different policies in countries so alike in climate, soil, government and people, was described, with facts and figures enough to satisfy the most exacting worshiper of statistical tables, by Edward Pulsford in the Nineteenth Century magazine of last September, very much to the disadvantage of the protective policy. Nevertheless, there is an active protection minority in New South Wales, under the leadership of men who, looking over the border into Victoria, have seen how the beneficiaries of protected interests prosper at the expense of their fellow colonists, and have hoped for an opportunity to imitate them. As a matter of practical politics this movement appears to have been strengthened by the conscientiousness of Sir Henry Parks in dealing with the public lands. When Sir John Robinson was at the head of the government in New South Wales he created a large surplus in the treasury by selling off the public lands; but when Sir Henry Parks came in some years ago he stopped this, believing that the government had no right to divest the people of their common inheritance, and substituted a system of generation leases whereby an occupant was protected in his improvements, but required to have his ground rent readjusted at public biddings every thirty years. The population of New South Wales was not large enough to yield much rental from lands not yet fairly up to what economists call the margin of cultivation, and the treasury surplus finally gave way to a deficit. This furnished an opportunity for defeating Sir Henry Parks's government; but after a brief interval he came again into power, when he formed a free trade cabinet and remained at the head of the government until some three or four months ago. He was then forced out on a side issue relating to the treasury deficiency, and one George R. Dibbs took his place and formed a protection ministry. Mr. Dibbs, judging from his public utterances, is a miniature James G. Blaine, though no reflection upon his personal integrity is intended by the comparison. His career was short. It was possible to befuddle the people of New South Wales over a question of treasury deficiency even to the extent of establishing a government of protectionists, but when it came to making of the protective scheme a colonial policy, it was impossible to get a majority of the members for it. They dared not face their constituents in advocacy of an actual protective measure, for they well knew how the workingmen of the colony had once revolted after a

short trial of protection, and how in Victoria now the protected laborer is not able to get the wages of New South Wales except in the more highly skilled trades in which organization is possible, and then only by the power of trade organization. And so it comes about that Sir Henry Parks is again at the head of the government, surrounded by a free trade cabinet.

The Hon. E. C. Tully of the Sixty-eighth assembly district of California introduced in the assembly a ballot reform bill which, with a slight alteration of the section providing for the nomination of non-partisan candidates, was recommended by the committee on election laws and on March 1 was passed by the house. Mr. Tully's bill is essentially the same as the Saxton bill of this state. In providing against Tasmanian dodges, however, he has made a valuable alteration, part of which was suggested for the New York bill by Mr. Saxton at one of the hearings before his committee. In the New York bill as proposed the ballot clerks were required to indorse their names on the back of the ballot, so that when the voter offered to deposit it the inspectors would have means of knowing that the ballot he offered was the identical official ballot, he had received from the ballot clerk, and not a false one deposited for the purpose of getting official ballots into the hands of persons not entitled to them and thereby making bribery possible. The somewhat captious objection has been made to this that it would enable the ballot clerks to identify a voter's ballot after election; and this objection is completely done away with by the Tully bill, while at the same time the most perfect precautions against voting any but the official ballot are taken. The secretary of the state is required to provide and supply to the proper local officials at their expense a sufficient quantity of paper watermarked with a design which is not to be repeated oftener than every fourteen years, and which is to be so made as to be plainly discernible on the outside of the ballot when folded; and on every ballot it is required that a "perforated line shall extend from top to bottom one-half inch from the right hand side of such ballot, and upon the half inch strip thus formed there shall be no printing except the number of the ballot, which shall be upon the back of such strip in such position that it shall appear on the outside when the ballot is folded; the number on each ballot shall be the same as that upon the corresponding stub," and when the elector votes the inspector shall "separate the ballot number from the ballot, and shall immediately in the presence of the election officers destroy the same, and shall deposit the ballot in the ballot box," while the numbered stub shall be preserved. This device seems to remove every difficulty. What with the water mark and the numbered strip it will be quite impossible to impose an unofficial ballot upon the inspectors; and as the numbered strip is destroyed when the ballot is deposited, while no one is allowed to write upon the ballot except the voter, and he only to make a cross, there is no possibility of identification. At the same time a record of the ballots given out is preserved on the stubs which, without showing to whom any particular ballot is given, will show who received ballots, whether all that were given out were voted, and whether the number of ballots given out by the ballot clerks correspond with the number found in the box and on the poll clerk's list. The device is simple, though ingenious and effective.

Had Sir William Blackstone found himself in the grand jury room of New York county last week he would have felt perfectly at home, for there the Manhattan railroad company's lawyers were trying to procure indictments against brethren in their profession for an offense which Sir William would have described either as barretty, maintenance or champerty, offenses that were severely punished in his day, but which in ours have become obsolete.

Barretty consisted in stirring up suits and quarrels, and was punished simply with fine and imprisonment if the offender was only a common person, but with transportation if he was a lawyer. Maintenance consisted in giving pecuniary assistance to a party in the defense or prosecution of a law suit, and was permitted only for the benefit of a relative, servant or poor neighbor, and out of charity. Champerty was an agreement by one person to carry on at his own expense the suit of another in consideration of a division of its proceeds. In the state of New York none of these crimes exist except as the statute quoted below may be regarded as a remnant of one or all of them. It was under this statute that the Manhattan elevated railroad proposed to indict a score or more of lawyers who have been giving it trouble.

When the elevated railroad was constructed it took possession of the public streets without regard to the legal rights of real estate owners. A long litigation brought by a landholder resulted in a decision against the company requiring it to pay damages by way of loss of rents down to the time of assessing damages, and the injury to the fee besides. Following this, several lawyers went into the business of stirring up suits against the company. Their mode of procedure was in general to send drummers to the different land owners who had been injured by the elevated road, to solicit them to bring suits, on condition that the lawyer should pay all expenses and make no charge for services, he depending for his compensation entirely upon a share of the proceeds of the suit. Of course the drummer was either paid outright for drumming up the client, or promised a part of the lawyer's share. After this had gone on for a long time and the company had been annoyed with an exceeding great annoyance by lawyers' fees and adverse verdicts in suits which the injured party would never have thought of bringing but for the champertous conduct of the drumming attorneys, the old crimes of barretty, champerty and maintenance were thought of, and lawyers were set at work to find out how much of these old crimes is preserved in our criminal jurisprudence.

Of course the company could make no complaint on the ground that the offending lawyers had agreed to take a contingent fee for their services, for the question of compensating lawyers is now left to contract, like compensation for any other kind of service, and it is well settled that lawyers may stipulate with their clients for contingent fees. But in the code of civil procedure they found this remnant of the old laws against barretty, maintenance and champerty: "An attorney or counselor shall not by himself or by or in the name of another person, either before or after action brought, promise or give, or procure to be promised or given, a valuable consideration to any person as an inducement to placing, or in consideration of having placed in his hands, or in the hands of another person, a demand of any kind for the purpose of bringing an action thereon." And it was under this statute that an indictment was asked for, the penal code making its violation a misdemeanor.

It is difficult to see why the lawyers in question have not brought themselves within the law. By agreeing to pay the expenses of the suit they have promised a valuable consideration to the litigant, and by paying or agreeing to pay the drummer they have given or promised to give him a valuable consideration. The object of the consideration being in each case the placing of a demand in their hands for the purpose of bringing the suit. Nothing could well be plainer. And yet it is not probable that any penalty will be inflicted upon these attorneys, for a penal statute cannot be stronger than the public opinion in obedience to which it operates. Twenty years ago when professional prejudice against champerty, maintenance and barretty were still strong, though the offenses, except for this statute, were obsolete, it might have gone hard with these attorneys. But now one has only to read the comments

of the press, and of the legal profession, and to consider the high character of some of the lawyers accused, to see that the statute with the violation of which they are charged is as obsolete in fact as the old crimes of barretty, maintenance and champerty are in law.

In Pennsylvania there are said to be 30,000 miners out of work—not over any dispute about wages, not over any dispute about other conditions of employment, but simply because the owners of the coal lands who also own the means of transportation, have on hand more coal than they are able to sell. Under a natural condition of production and trade this would immediately result in a fall of the price of coal, followed by greater demand, more mining, a greater extension of industry in all directions, higher wages and general business prosperity. But the monopolists have no intention of permitting this result. They have a corner on coal, and are raising its price in circumstances of plenty when by all the natural laws of trade the price should fall. What enables them to do this is as plain to be seen as the stars in the sky. They see it, even when their victims grope vainly all around it. At the bottom lies the private ownership of land under a system whereby high taxes are imposed when it is used and low ones when it is not. Then comes the transportation system under which public highways are given over to private control. Then comes the protective tariff which shuts out foreign competition. Abolish the tariff, and coal corners would be menaced from without; restore the control of the public highways to the state from which it has been taken, and the corners would be menaced from within as well as without; tax land according to its value, irrespective of whether it is used or not, and no valuable mine can be kept out of use long enough to make a corner effective. Nothing could be plainer, and yet thirty thousand suffering men in Pennsylvania, men with votes—real votes—shut their eyes to the light, and under the banner of "protection" march on to starvation for them and theirs, while their self constituted "protectors" make merry. How long, oh Lord, how long!

The Times is responsible for a story from Canada which shows either that the paper has been imposed upon, or that the Canadian parliament has been preparing to take elementary lessons in the kind of practical politics with which we are familiar. A bill has been introduced in the dominion parliament which provides for the return to this country of what the Canadian police call the "American expatriots;" and the story is that a combine was formed among the "ex-patriots" to defeat the measure by bribery. According to the story, Eno, the leader in the colony, went to Ottawa and satisfied himself that there was a probability of influencing enough members for his purpose. He then saw Keenan, who used to be a New York alderman, and agreed with him upon a plan of operations. Pursuant to the plan, Keenan hunted up Stickney, the Boston defaulter; Sullivan, the ex-county clerk of Indianapolis; Axworthy of Cleveland; Dieckman of St. Louis; Moore of Indianapolis and Nelson of Atlanta, through whom arrangements were made whereby the western exiles were to contribute \$25,000, the smaller fry who are centered at Montreal were to give \$10,000, Eno \$20,000 and Keenan himself \$20,000. An assessment of \$10,000 was laid upon the Canadian exiles over here on the theory that if Canada passes such a law this country will do something of the same kind by way of reciprocity, it being understood that a country is always anxious to keep her criminals at home and keenly appreciates the generosity of a neighbor in shipping back those who have escaped. The money having been raised, a member of parliament who is also an expert lawyer and parliamentarian, was employed to so distort the bill with amendments that its friends would abandon it, the balance of the fund after paying this lawyer's fee to be used to impress upon other members the importance of the amendments he should advocate. To the

observer from a distance the story looks just a little like some rumor which the friends of the bill might have set going to frighten off opposition; and yet it may be true, for no doubt it would be very inconvenient for Eno to leave his asbestos company and Keenan his real estate operations for an indefinite engagement at manual labor in their native state.

However it may be with the Times's Canadian story, its story about the woolen goods association in the last campaign has convincing earmarks of truth, and is withal of much greater public interest. This association, so runs the story, was called into existence by a decision of Secretary Fairchild to the effect that all fabrics made of combed wool were properly classified as worsted. The decision was in accordance with the letter of the law and the prevailing rule of construction, but it did not suit the woolen men, who brought every possible influence to bear upon Mr. Fairchild to reverse it. He refused, however, to do more than recommend to congress a correction of the inequalities of the wool schedule.

The woolen men then organized the woolen goods association and appealed to congress. A resolution was introduced instructing the secretary to reverse his decision, but it lodged in committee until the Mills bill was reported, and as that bill placed worsted and woolens on the same basis there was no longer any necessity for the resolution even from the standpoint of the woolen men. Still the woolen goods association was not satisfied, and sent a committee to Washington of which the since noted John F. Plummer was a prominent member. This committee solicited a conference with the democratic members of the Ways and Means committee of the house, but they refused to attend or to report the resolution, on the ground that such action would not be consistent with the Mills bill.

Thereupon the woolen goods association made the matter one of party politics, its republican members working and contributing with unwonted zeal and liberality in the interest of Harrison's election, and its democratic members giving to Cleveland only a lukewarm support. "But before much work was done for Mr. Harrison," continues the Times, "some of the republican manufacturers sounded him upon his views of the all-important worsted question. Mr. John F. Plummer, as the most prominent politician in the association, was chosen to conduct the negotiations, and after a more or less lengthy interchange of letters on the question, Mr. Plummer reported Mr. Harrison as being sound on the question. Then the incoming secretary of the treasury was to be reasoned with, and long before his name was reported to other persons, before the election had demonstrated that Mr. Harrison was to have the privilege of appointing a secretary of the treasury, he was told to get the views of Mr. William Windom on the question. This he did, and having found them also sound, the republican campaign was boomed and propagated as vigorously and effectively as money could do it."

If it should prove that this exposure by the Times is true, the history of President Harrison's election will describe a dickering for the construction of statutes in the interest of a little coterie of manufacturers as a consideration for campaign funds, as well as the sale of a cabinet position and the handling of voters in blocks of five. The election of other presidents may have been promoted by dickering just as objectionable, but no presidential candidate was ever before quite so closely connected with the trade. This, however, is more a reflection upon what Mr. Harrison represented than upon himself. He was the candidate of a theory of government which has for its aim the imposition of indirect taxes upon the whole people for the benefit of a few of their number. Conceding the justice of what he represents, how can he be censured for arranging with the beneficiaries in advance, for such an administration of their particular statute as

would best serve its purpose of protecting them?

No more eloquent words nor prophetic, let us hope, have been spoken in the movement for industrial emancipation than these from the lips of Hugh O. Pentecost:

Thus far I have been trying to show you the evil; henceforth I shall try to show you the remedy, and I go on in this work from week to week with beating heart and rising hope, for I tell you that over the eastern hills is now to be seen the pale, pink blush of the dawning; the night of injustice and oppression is being pierced with shafts of light. Who knows but that you and I may live to see the shackles fall from the bruised and bleeding limbs of our toiling brothers and sisters, and hear the paeans of those who for the first time live in a world of peace, plenty and joy.

The business men of Waterloo, Iowa, are reported by a press telegram to be almost beside themselves with chagrin because the janitor of a bank building, who is also a cobbler, has been elected mayor of the town by a combination of Knights of Labor and railroad shop men and their sympathizers. There was a time when American business men were not ashamed to have mechanics in official positions.

The supreme court at Washington has laid its heavy hand upon an Ohio personal-tax dodger. The good people of Ohio look upon bank accounts as evil things, to be discouraged as much as possible, and accordingly impose a tax upon them. One of these good people is Stewart B. Shotwell, who usually keeps a bank account of some magnitude in one of the financial institutions of his state, but who has long made it a practice to comply with the spirit of the law for the taxation of bank accounts, by dispensing entirely with his Ohio bank account on one day in the year. As a good citizen of the state, he would no doubt have dispensed with it every day in the year, but for the great inconvenience to which that would have put him.

As Mr. Shotwell could afford to dispense with his bank account on only one day in the year, it would be supposed that he might have been allowed to select his day in peace. But not so. The officials of the state gave Mr. Shotwell no peace. They pursued him through the courts all the way to Washington, where they have just got a decision which will compel him wholly to give up keeping bank accounts in Ohio or to pay the penalty which the good folks of that state have in their wisdom seen fit to inflict for that kind of offense against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth.

The day which Mr. Shotwell chose for dispensing with his account was the second Monday in April, which, by a curious coincidence, was the very day on which returns were made by the tax assessor. By another curious coincidence Mr. Shotwell's bank account disappeared, and the tax assessor made his returns on the same day during all the years from 1881 to 1885, both inclusive. Mr. Shotwell, innocently supposing that if he did not commit the crime on assessment day he might commit it with impunity all the rest of the year, would withdraw his account on that day, taking payment in the form of greenbacks, which he would re-deposit after the assessor had been around. The reason he turned his account into greenbacks was that it is no offense in Ohio to own greenbacks, though it would be, no doubt, if it were not for federal law, for any one can see that the nimble greenback is quite as injurious in a community as the volatile bank account.

But the supreme court of the United States does not look at the matter as Mr. Shotwell did. It holds that under the Ohio statute Mr. Shotwell's bank account was as much a nuisance on any other day of the year as on assessment day; and since he maintained the nuisance all the year save only on the day when the assessor was making his round, he must pay the penalty. Let this be a warning to all the evil disposed bank depositors of Ohio, that when the state intends to discourage banking and declares its intention with

all the emphasis of a tax on bank accounts it is not to be trifled with, and whoever defies its purpose must submit to the penalty—unless he is more ingenious than Mr. Shotwell was.

The tendency to make local applications of protection doctrines is marked enough to excite some alarm and to demand agitation against it. The federal constitution stands in the way of much protective legislation by the states as against each other, but it cannot prevent the license system of towns by which local merchants are "protected." Even as between states every kind of subterfuge is resorted to to ward off outside competition. The latest instance of this was the effort in the Pennsylvania legislature to pass a law requiring an inspection of meats from other states, which would have compelled the meat eaters of Pennsylvania to buy at abnormal prices of Pennsylvania producers. But in towns the protective principle is openly enforced to an extent that should set every intelligent workman against it. Without going into further details, consider the licenses, often almost or quite prohibitory, which are imposed upon peddlers. These licenses are in the interest of local storekeepers; but the interest of the man who wants to make a living by honest work—and who shall say that honest peddling is not honest work?—is ignored, along with the interest of the buyer who is under no moral and should be under no legal obligation to buy of his local storekeeper.

But, it is said, "if the peddler is allowed to sell in our town he must pay for the privilege"—the regular protection plea heard so often last fall, that if the foreigner wants to sell in our markets he must pay for it. But the peddler does not pay. It is the local buyer who pays when the license is not heavy enough to keep the peddlers out, and the local seller who gets the benefit when it is.

Then it is urged that the local storekeeper pays taxes for the support of the town, and if the peddler competes with him he also ought to contribute towards the expense of the town. Except taxes that fall on the value of his land, and such as fall on the things he and his family consume, it is not true that the local storekeeper pays taxes. The taxes he pays on his business he collects with a profit from his customers. Here is another illustration of the truth that, a few unimportant subjects of taxation aside, the people of a community, large or small, when they tax anything but land values, are but taxing themselves far more than the community gets, no matter of whom they collect the tax in the first instance.

Aside, however, from any questions of self interest, it should be distinctly understood, and never forgotten, that rights of property include the right to freely dispose of it. When this is understood, the honest people of towns will see that to tax either peddlers or merchants for the privilege of selling is a denial of the rights of property, and that the only honest way of raising public revenues is by taxing men according to the value of the land they appropriate.

A Methodist clergyman took occasion while preaching in Chicago the funeral sermon of a convict whom he believed to have been unjustly convicted through the machinations of detectives, to attack the detective profession with a harshness that will find an echo in the minds of many who have observed the methods of that profession. He asserted that the terms "professional criminal" and "professional detective" are synonymous; that "the detective lies to catch his victim; that he lives a lie, and is a lie, and will tell a lie to carry a point." There are detectives who cannot be fairly characterized in this way; but it must be admitted that the profession is one well adapted to the cultivation of such qualities as the clergyman describes if the detective possesses them in the germ, and that men who do not possess them, or kindred qualifications, in the germ, are not apt to adopt the profession if they can make a living at anything else.

Doubling Castle.

"And a faith which was dead revives,"
We were prisoners in it once,
But its walls are lying low;
Turret gray and dungeoned keep,
Nevermore our souls shall know!
Where its frowning shadow fell,
Hope's bright blossoms spring to-day;
Fresh the winds of heaven blow,
And the dancing sunbeams play.

We were prisoners in it once,
Straining eyes thro' prison bars,
If we haply might discern,
Faint and far, the midnight stars
Not for us the dawn's delight,
Nor the splendor of the noon—
We had dreamed of them, alas!
But the vision faded soon.

We were prisoners in it once,
And our fettered hearts were numb,
And the prayer we used to plead,
In our silenced lips was dumb.
What was hope? A mocking taunt
To the spirit's thirsty need.
What was faith? Delusion's trust
In a dying, empty creed.

We were prisoners in it once,
False to even Love's behest;
Fain to stifle her response
In the wounded, bleeding breast.
Wherefore heed a brother's woe?
When the hand was weak to save?
For his anguish—for our own—
Rest was found but in the grave.

We were prisoners in it once,
But sometimes our gaze would turn
To the solemn heavens above,
To the stars that deathless burn;
And between the dungeon bars
Winds celestial seemed to steal—
Like a secret message sent,
We divined not, but could feel.

We were prisoners in it once:
Oh, the day when Greatheart came!
And the rusty hinges turned,
And the skies were all aflame!
At his voice the fetters fell;
Body maimed, and stricken soul,
Felt again the breath divine
That could make their weakness whole.

We were prisoners in it once!
So we cried, exultant, all;
As the tottering fortress shook,
Rushing to its mighty fall.
Spite of sorrow, spite of wrong,
Once again the earth we trod,
Heirs of nature's purpose vast—
Workers in the plan of God!

FRANCIS M. MILNE.
San Luis Obispo, California, March 1.

Another Clergyman to the Front.

BRECKENRIDGE, Col.—In delivering his farewell address last night, Dr. W. C. Gibbons, who has very ably filled the pulpit of the Congregational church at this place for nearly two years, speaking on the subject of "What I Believe," stated that the time was not far distant when two city lots lying side by side, one improved, the other vacant, would be taxed alike, and when men would no longer be fined for their industry by taxation upon their improvements. Dr. Gibbons is a very clear and logical thinker, a man who thoroughly investigates a question and follows where the truth leads. He is a very able and convincing speaker, and in him the single tax cause gains a very bold and able advocate.

HENRY M. FAIR.

BALLOT REFORM.

These evils are, in our wealthier and more highly developed communities, like New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the corrupt use of money at the polls; in Ohio, West Virginia and South Carolina, tally sheet forgeries and ballot box frauds, and in the black districts of Mississippi and Arkansas intimidations, violence and murder. All of them are considerably diminished by the application of the Australian ballot reform system to local elections.—[New York Press.]

No amount of legislative penalties for bribery and intimidation have ever proved of practical value; and there is little ground to hope that they ever will. But this Australian system has proved very effective.—[Portland, Me., Argus.]

The bill to establish the Australian system of voting in Pennsylvania has been reported favorably by the senate committee, and must now come before the legislature.—[Philadelphia Justice.]

All who desire to see a purer administration of the people's affairs and the encouragement and assistance from just laws in the advancement of the happiness of all and the making of our nation a true republic should concentrate their efforts on the reformation of our electoral system as a foundation necessary for further building.—[Union Pacific Employees Magazine.]

On the 22d of April, when the people of Massachusetts will vote on the question of prohibition, the Australian ballot system will come into operation for the first time.—[Exchange.]

Very True.

Nashville American.
Whenever Samuel J. Randall wins a victory the democratic party loses a battle.

Won't it?

New York Sun.
The chances are that the main question will not be that of protection or free trade.

MEN AND THINGS.

Since the last issue of THE STANDARD two noteworthy men have passed away—Isaiah V. Williamson and John Ericsson. Both have been honored by the press with long obituary notices. Both were self-made men, in the sense that they were born of poor parents, and in early life had to work for a living. Both were very old men. Both were rich. In other respects there were very considerable differences between them.

Isaiah V. Williamson is spoken of as a philanthropist. A philanthropist is a friend of mankind. Consider what sort of a friend of mankind Isaiah V. Williamson was.

He commenced life as a boy on a farm, and at the age of fifteen was apprenticed to a storekeeper. During his apprenticeship he devoted himself strictly to the gaining and saving of money. He didn't try to improve his mind. He burned no student's midnight lamp. He puzzled his brain with no problems of nature or society. There is nothing to show that he indulged in any foolish dreams of making the world wiser, better or happier than he found it. He wasn't that kind of a boy. When he put on his hat, the center of his universe was covered; and the aim of his life, as evidenced by the record of his actions, was to make Isaiah V. Williamson, not good, nor happy, nor useful, nor loved, but rich. By the time he was twenty-one he had scraped together \$2,500. This was in 1824.

Then he went to Philadelphia and opened a dry goods store. Within fifteen years he increased his money to \$200,000. He retired from active business, went abroad for a couple of years, took a look at the world and apparently decided that there wasn't much in it to interest him, and then came back to Philadelphia and went to money grubbing once more. And for very nearly half a century—from 1840 to 1889—from the prime of manhood to extreme old age, the aim and object of his life was to pile dollar upon dollar. He gathered to himself as much of the things essential to human life and comfort as he could possibly get hold of. He bought coal lands, and railway franchises, and city building lots. He didn't use these things to make his own life more comfortable, or the lives of his fellow men more comfortable. He just hung on to them, in serene confidence that if he hung on long enough, the desperate need of fuel and transportation, and ground on which to stand houses, would compel men to pay him high prices for the privilege of using them. You see, he was a philanthropist—a friend of his race. His biographers tell us that he lived in a single room, wore dirty linen and old clothes, walked in all kinds of weather sooner than pay carfare, and patronized the free lunch counter of a beer saloon. Altogether he seems to have been a most disreputable looking and disagreeable old man. His \$200,000 swelled to \$15,000,000 in forty eight years. He died with nobody near him but a doctor and two hired nurses, and as soon as it was certain that he was really dead a swarm of relatives came rushing into Philadelphia to see what he had left behind him and look out that they got their shares.

But he was a philanthropist. He gave lands, and houses, and railway stocks and bonds to a lot of charitable institutions, and he founded, or began to found, the Williamson free school of mechanical trades. The toilers for scant wages in Pennsylvania mines and on Pennsylvania railways will have the satisfaction of knowing that by his orders they are working to support several libraries, colleges, hospitals and schools. He lived a selfish, godless, dehumanized life. Social conditions rendered it possible for him to grab the fruits of more respectable men's labor, and he did it with ability and singleness of purpose. He got rich by appropriating what he hadn't produced, and he made a reputation as a philanthropist by giving away what, in justice, didn't belong to him—the right, namely, to tax the future labor of his fellow men. It would be hard to discover anything that the world has gained by his life or anything that it has lost by his death.

Contrast this life with that of John Ericsson, and say which was the true philanthropist—the real friend of his race. John Ericsson was born a poor boy, the son of a Swedish coal miner. He made his way in life, not by intending his mind on John Ericsson and striving to make everybody round him work for

John Ericsson's benefit, but by studying man and nature—by considering the wants of humanity and the best way of harnessing the forces of nature to supply them. The whole race of men is better off because of his long and useful life. He endowed no schools or hospitals with wealth acquired by hindering and hampering productive labor. But he did a far better and far greater thing—he increased the efficiency of labor. In his native Sweden, in England, in the United States, wherever he made his home, he labored with unflagging zeal to make life more comfortable and happier. And when he passed away, full of years and honors, the whole civilized world mourned him as a benefactor gone.

Probably there is not one man in a million who, comparing the careers of Isaiah V. Williamson and John Ericsson, would not unhesitatingly say that Ericsson was immeasurably the nobler man—that the fewer Williamsons and the more Ericssons the better for humanity. Yet it is curious to observe how the majority of these same men, in their collective social capacity, are doing all in their power to encourage the development of men like Williamson, and to discourage the development and hinder the usefulness of men like Ericsson.

A Williamson buys a coal bed. He doesn't work it, and refuses to let anybody else work it. He simply sits down and waits until the demand for coal shall become so urgent that men will pay him what he wants for the privilege of digging in that coal bed. And society, instead of sending him to the almshouse for six months, as an example to all other men who try to live without work, puts him on the back, confirms his title to the coal bed, and makes things easier for him by providing that anybody who buys coal in the markets of the world shall pay a fine of seventy-five cents on every ton he buys.

An Ericsson invents a screw propeller—a tool that enormously increases the efficiency of human labor, makes the interchange of products vastly easier, and largely breaks down the natural barriers that separate different races of men. What does society do in these circumstances? Why, as fast as Ericsson breaks down natural barriers it builds up artificial barriers in their stead. The screw propeller having made trade easier, society seeks some device to render it more difficult again—and levies a protective tariff. The self same policy that rewards and encourages the idle industry-choking Williamsons, discourages and tends to render useless the beneficent labor of the Ericssons.

Think what this country of ours might be, think what this world might be, if ten thousand Ericssons were working for humanity, and not a single Williamson to hinder them. It will be so some day.

Judge Frank T. Reid of Tennessee writes encouragingly of the progress of the single tax cause in Nashville. "Our movement," he says, "is visibly growing. I speak every Sunday afternoon, and the audience, I notice, is growing in size and in the social status of its members. I noticed yesterday afternoon, quite an accession of new faces, many of them young gentlemen belonging to the professions." During the coming spring and summer Judge Reid will deliver addresses on the single tax in all the towns of Tennessee, as well as in the principal cities of other southern states.

Residents of New York, whose business takes them to the lower end of Church street, have been aware of the existence of a pestiferous little one horse surface railroad, running between the corner of Church and Vesey streets and the South ferry. A dirtier, nastier, more disgusting looking affair it would be impossible to imagine. The cars were too filthy for a decent human being to enter; the horses were fit only for the knacker's yard, and were repeatedly carried off by the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals; the passengers were few, and very, very far between; the entire receipts can hardly have amounted to more than ten or twelve dollars a day. Doubtless many a citizen, seeing the condition of the line, and the scanty patronage afforded it, has wondered why on earth its owners didn't put the wretched horses out of their misery, burn the ramshackle old cars, and close up the whole concern. It could only be operated at a constant loss.

But the owners of the line had a very good reason for not giving up. Their

horses and cars were worth nothing, and their business was a steadily losing one. But they had something that they knew would bring them in money enough, if they only held on to it. They had a franchise. A small part of their line ran through State and Whitehall streets, and so long as they kept their franchise alive by running an occasional car, the Broadway surface road would be unable to run its cars through State or Whitehall streets to its natural terminus at the South ferry. Observe that this was an absolute inconvenience to the public. A passenger by the Broadway line, if he wanted to get to the ferry, had to disembark at Bowling Green, wait, sometimes several minutes, for a stage, and endure a five minutes' jolting over a rough pavement, generally missing at least one boat which he might otherwise have caught. But the owners of the dilapidated little railroad didn't at all mind inconveniencing the public. On the contrary, the more the public was inconvenienced, the better they liked it. Because the inconvenience would result in diminished patronage of the Broadway line; and the diminution of the patronage would make the owners of the Broadway line more anxious to buy the franchise of the nasty little road. So they kept on running their filthy cars, that nobody traveled in, and just waited. And they showed their wisdom. For now the Broadway railroad company has bought the franchise for \$355,000. The filthy cars will disgust the souls of New Yorkers no longer; the Broadway line will relay the tracks in State and Whitehall streets, and let the rest of the road lapse into innocuous desuetude. And the citizens of New York may have the sweet satisfaction of knowing that a few of their number have made a fortune by first getting a franchise under pretense of serving the public, and then refusing to let the public be served until their blackmailing demands were satisfied.

The men who own the surface roads of New York are making out pretty well, whether by operating their franchises or by obstructing the public convenience. In one way or another they manage to make plenty of money. But the men whose business it is to do the actual work on the roads—the car drivers and conductors and stable men—are having rather a hard time. The majority of the men who were engaged in the late strike are still unemployed, and those who have succeeded in getting work have been compelled to sign away their manhood by pledging themselves, in writing, to have nothing to do with the Knights of Labor, or any similar organization. The franchise owners are pushing their victory remorselessly. By and by the car drivers and conductors will learn that the remedy for the oppression that bears them down does not lie in the organization of a monopoly of labor, but in the abolition of monopoly of the opportunities of labor. When once they learn that lesson, they will make short work of the monopolies. Meantime, the franchise owners are teaching them pretty efficiently.

A convention of the railroad commissioners of the several states has been holding a conference in Washington with the Interstate commerce commissioners. Among the matters discussed was the system of coupling and uncoupling freight cars, and the Interstate commissioners were urged to use their influence for the promotion of remedial legislation. Ex-Railroad Commissioner Collin, of Iowa, representing the Brotherhood of Rail Brakemen, addressed the convention on this subject. Among other things he said:

Our commission in Iowa has caused a law to be made that has been on the statute books ten years, to the effect that the railroads shall report to the commissioner the accidents occurring along their lines, and it is shown that in ten years we have killed and maimed 2,424 men in the state of Iowa by these two causes alone [the link coupler and the hand brake]. . . . There are 150,000 miles of railroad in the United States, and over six thousand of these active, strong men were either killed or maimed for life from those two causes alone last year.

If the railroad commissioners and the brakemen's brotherhood would think a little, they would see that there is just one efficient way to compel the railway companies to put a stop to this frightful sacrifice of human life. The companies are very careful to prevent the sacrifice of passengers' lives. Why? Simply because, if they kill a passenger they have to pay for him. Make them equally responsible for the lives of their employees,

and they will soon solve the questions of the car coupler and the hand brake for themselves.

Standing in front of the railway station here at Plainfield the other day, I watched a long train of coal cars rumble past. Three boys stood waiting by the track. As the train went by, traveling probably fifteen miles an hour, these boys caught at the projecting iron handles of the cars and managed to swing themselves on board. They had no business on the train—they were simply truant youngsters amusing themselves by stealing a ride. And the station hands looked on unconcernedly, and never raised a finger to stop them. It was none of their business. Yet within the last year several Plainfield boys have been killed or desperately injured while trying to board trains. If the Central railroad of New Jersey were responsible in damages for every boy thus killed or maimed, and were estopped from pleading contributory negligence, there would soon be an end to this train-boarding and boy killing. But there never will be an end to it, while it is cheaper for the company to let the boys be killed than to pay men to prevent them from risking their lives. And there never will be an end to the slaughter of railway employees, until the corporations are made to suffer in money for every employe they do to death.

How easy it is to be unjust.

In its issue of January 19, under the title "Christianity a la mode," THE STANDARD printed an extract from a sermon by Archdeacon Mackay-Smith, in which the speaker was represented as avowing his belief that the words of Christ, "The poor ye have always with you," were intended as a prophecy, that there is an inherent necessity that the great majority of men should be poor, and, inferentially, that the abolition of poverty, even were it possible, would be disastrous to civilization, because without the goad of hunger men would refuse to do the baser and more disagreeable work of society—the scavenging, and street sweeping, and things of that kind. The authority for the extract was the New York Times, which published a synopsis of the sermon the day after its delivery. Its correctness was apparently attested by the fact that many of those who heard the sermon drew from it the same impression which the abstract conveyed.

Two Sundays later the Rev. Heber Newton, in whose church the archdeacon's sermon had been preached, delivered what was evidently intended as an answer, in which he took the strongest possible ground against such a "monstrous perversion" of the scripture, and declared that so far from poverty being a divine ordinance, it was plainly due, very largely at least, to palpable defects in social organization. Mr. Newton's remarks were quoted in THE STANDARD, with an editorial comment in which the utterances of the two clergymen were contrasted. And since that time I have several times, in this column and elsewhere in THE STANDARD, referred to Archdeacon Mackay-Smith as one who held that poverty was divinely instituted, and was, on the whole, rather a good thing for humanity than otherwise.

And now it turns out that the Times report of the sermon embodied an error, and conveyed a totally wrong idea of Archdeacon Mackay-Smith's meaning. The letter from the archdeacon, printed in another column, shows that while he did make some of the statements referred to, it was in an entirely different spirit from that with which he was credited. The statement that poverty underlies our civilization, and forms a necessary part of it, was pointedly made as a reproach to that civilization, and as evidencing that the present social system is an imperfect one, which needs to be amended. This indeed was something entirely different from what he had been represented as saying. Archdeacon Mackay-Smith has suffered a great injustice. I think I may claim, and the archdeacon himself has cheerfully conceded, that it was not a wanton injustice, but one into which anyone, however careful, might have been betrayed; but I regret it none the less on that account.

But while I am sorry to have been misled by a false report of his pulpit utterances, into criticising Archdeacon Mackay-Smith undeservedly, I can by no means admit the justice of his claim that "whatever my views on a question of political economy, they form no reason to criticise me as a Christian minister, or,

through me, the church to which I belong." I am sorry that I should have been deceived about his views on political economy. I am doubly sorry that I should have been the means of conveying to others a false idea of his views. But I certainly hold that his views on questions of political economy are a legitimate subject of criticism. I think they not only may be criticised, but ought to be. The archdeacon is right when he says that "this matter is a very important one." It is indeed very important. And it is a matter as to which I take direct issue with him. I believe that it is "the province of the gospel to teach political economy;" and I believe that inasmuch as the Christian clergy neglect to teach political economy, they leave the gospel of Christ unpreached, or preach a gospel that is false. I do not mean to say that every clergyman is bound to preach the political economy that I believe in. But I do mean to say that he is bound to preach the political economy that he believes in. And he is in duty bound to study the subject until he finds some system that he can believe in—some system that satisfies his own mind completely, and that he is fully prepared to defend.

I want to make my meaning plain. Archdeacon Mackay-Smith, at a very pleasant interview I had with him the other day, spoke of Hugh O. Pentecost as a man for whom he had the highest respect, though he differed from him *toto cœlo* in religious matters. I have no doubt he would entertain the same feeling towards a conscientious Roman Catholic priest. But I do not believe he could have any such feeling towards a minister of the gospel who should say that there seemed to be a good deal in what Mr. Pentecost said, and a good deal in what the priest said, but that he didn't feel qualified to judge between them, and didn't think it made much difference anyway—he had more important matters to attend to. Now, to me, the Christian clergyman who halts among half a dozen economic theories is in just the same plight as the one who stands doubtful among the theologies. He is, to me, a man without a complete religious belief. And I think that such a man, when he gets into the pulpit, becomes a legitimate subject for criticism.

Religion nothing to do with political economy! Why, it has everything to do with it. And Christianity, of all religions upon earth, has least excuse for neglecting it. For the founder of Christianity declared with his own lips the principles by which men should be governed in their dealings with one another; and the real strength of Christianity is in the ideal beauty of the political economy it teaches. Do to others as you would others should do to you; give to whomsoever asks of you; take no thought for the morrow; don't strive to lay up treasures upon earth; such are the rules by which Christ himself tells his followers to order their lives on earth, if they would enter into the kingdom of heaven hereafter. These things, it seems to me, are a part of the Christian religion. If they are, then Christian ministers ought to preach them. But how can Christian ministers preach them, and yet have no decided opinions upon questions of political economy? How can a Christian minister tell me that religion requires me to do to others as I want them to do to me, and yet assert that it has no concern with the protective tariff? How can he tell me to give to whomsoever asks of me, and in the same breath refuse to explain why, if I do, I shall sin against society by breeding pauperism? How can he tell me to take no thought for the morrow, and turn away when I explain to him that I'll come to the poor house if I don't take thought? How can he ask me to believe in God's equal love and care for all his children, and yet refuse to tell me why some of the children are cursed with poverty and foredoomed to vice and crime? He simply cannot do these things, and be consistent with his own teachings. He must explain these matters, if he wants to make men really believe in his religion. If he cannot explain them, then the only proper thing for him to do is to stop preaching and study political economy until he can explain them. For in the meantime he is preaching a religion which, on that side of it that touches human life and action here on earth, is altogether impracticable. The fact is patent that here in the United States, in this nineteenth century, men professing Christianity do not live as Christ told them to live. They simply

cannot do it. No Christian minister would dare do it himself, or insist that his congregation should do it. Now why not? Is it "sneering at the clergy" to ask them to explain? Are they not rather sneering at the laity when they reply that questions of this kind involve principles of political economy, concerning which there is great diversity of opinion, and with which religion has no concern? I don't think they mean to sneer, but really it seems to me that if there is any sneering on either side, it is on theirs, and not on ours. For it is not demanded of them that they should answer the question in any particular way, but only that they should answer it in some way—definitely, coherently, in understandable fashion. And Archdeacon Mackay-Smith must excuse me if I point out to him that when he declares his "purely intellectual conviction" that the abolition of poverty is an insoluble problem, he is not answering the question in any way, but only avoiding it. I do not say that he cannot answer it. I only say that he has not done so yet.

Archdeacon Mackay-Smith says that he has reason to know that many of the clergy are believers in the doctrine of the single tax, while not a few are practically socialists. "But," he goes on to complain, "the rest are attacked none the less violently from time to time because they do not agree with their brethren, and it is more than insinuated they are unworthy representatives of their calling."

There are, of course, unworthy representatives of their calling among the clergy as among all other classes of men. There are some who do not scruple to avow the belief that poverty is a divine institution, which it is a sin to seek to abolish. I think such men are unworthy of their calling, and I, in common with many other advocates of the single tax, have not hesitated to call them unworthy. But I don't think any clergymen have ever been stigmatized as unworthy merely because they declined to believe that a single tax on land values would extirpate poverty. Yet we who believe in the single tax, without bringing any charge of unworthiness, do complain of the attitude of the Christian clergy towards us. What our complaint is is very easily stated.

We advance the proposition that man's inalienable rights, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, include and are founded on the inalienable right to the use of the earth. We say that God, when he sends a man into the world, gives him an equal right with every other man to apply his labor to the raw material of the earth—not to some of it, somewhere, but to any of it, anywhere. In support of this proposition we point to the fact that man cannot live without access to the earth—that everything he eats and drinks, and wears, and uses can be produced by applying labor to the earth, and cannot possibly be produced in any other way. If God intends man to live he must intend him to use the earth, because he'll die if he doesn't. Hence we say that the denial of the equal right to the use of the planet is a robbery—a gigantic social crime—a breaking of a fundamental law of God. We state this as a religious truth, and we invite the Christian clergy, the vowed ministers of God, the professed expounders of his laws, to consider our proposition, and either affirm or deny it. Is it true that God made the earth for the equal use of all living men? Or did he make one piece of it for John Smith and his heirs or assigns forever, and another piece for Robert Brown, and his heirs or assigns, and another piece for Henry Jones, and his heirs or assigns, and then create Peter Robinson without any piece at all? It is a very simple question. It is a purely religious question. It is evidently a question of transcendent importance to humanity. And we think the Christian clergy ought to answer it, one way or another, every one of them, with an absolute yes, or an absolute no. Some of them have done so. The great majority have not. The charge we bring against them is that they are silent when they ought to speak. I put it to Archdeacon Mackay-Smith, whether there is not a certain foundation of justice in our complaint. T. L. McCREADY.

Here's Wisdom.

San Francisco Argonaut, Feb. 25.

We lay down the proposition that no land is worth \$50 or \$15 per acre while lands equally good can be purchased for a less sum in the immediate vicinity.

Ah! This is Better.

San Francisco Argonaut, March 4.

The land, and the toil that cultivates it, underlies all our progress.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

What Are We Going to Do About It?

The late Hon. William M. Tweed's defiant inquiry: "What are you going to do about it?" had behind it a deeper meaning than Mr. Tweed himself was aware of. Society, taking the question to mean simply, "What are you going to do to me?" answered it by subjecting Mr. Tweed to a series of exciting and unpleasant experiences, including exile, trial by jury, imprisonment and death. Society very emphatically "got square" with Mr. Tweed and exacted an ample revenge for the injury he had inflicted upon it. But the real question, "What are you going to do about it—about the system which in spite of the unquestionable preference of the majority of the community for honesty rather than for thievery, renders it possible for men to rob society under pretence of protecting it from robbery?"—that question society has been puzzling over ever since, and is still looking for the answer.

In one shape or another this wretched question is always coming to the front—and always evoking answers which turn out not to be answers at all. The politician, accused on good evidence of striking at the very foundations of free government by purchasing votes, hardly takes the trouble to make denial, and smilingly inquires, "What are you going to do about it?" The twenty times millionaire, ensconced within the fortress of his trust, repeats the question. The pauper asks it from the almshouse; the gambler puts it from the faro table; the saloonkeeper, the swindler, the professional mendicant, the petty thief, the gentlemanly embezzler, the railway wrecker, the coal baron, the fraudulent bankrupt, all join to swell the interrogatory chorus, "What are you going to do about it? What are you going to do about it?" Softly, now! Here comes one with the answer. Mr. Superintendent Brockway, of the New York state reformatory. He will tell us what to do about it. What to do about some of it, at all events. Mr. Brockway is a man learned in penology, and skilled in the treatment of prisoners. He will tell us what to do about our criminals. Perhaps when we get the question answered so far, we shall see the way to answer it entirely. Open the Chautauquan, then, for March, 1889, and listen to Mr. Superintendent Brockway.

Mr. Brockway approaches his solution of the what-to-do-about-it problem with the statement of a fact illustrating how necessary it is that the problem should be solved. He tells us this:

In 1850, there was one imprisoned criminal to every 3,445 of population.

In 1860, there was one to every 1,649.

In 1870, there was one to every 1,173.

In 1880, there was one to every 855.

This is interesting, isn't it? Evidently either the police force has vastly increased in criminal catching efficiency, or the proportion of criminals to population is growing with portentous rapidity. On either hypothesis, it behooves us to hurry up and discover that answer before any more of us get found out, or take to ways of wickedness.

The root of the trouble, Mr. Brockway tells us, is that we treat our criminals on a wrong plan. We aim to punish, when we ought to try to reform. "The arbitrary discrimination of the criminal law," he says, "as between felony and misdemeanor; the statutory division into degrees, of crimes such as assault, larceny, burglary, forgery, robbery and arson, with penalties adjusted to each; and the discretion vested by law in the courts to determine, within the prescribed limitations, the duration of punishment, all unmistakably point to a purpose of retribution." And this retributive element in the punitive system is fraught with evil for the prisoners. Severe sentences make them bitter and revengeful; undue leniency encourages them in crime; and, worse than all, they get the idea that the serving out of a sentence squares accounts with society and removes every obstacle to the resumption of criminal conduct.

The penitentiary portion of penological science is nearing a crisis. The care of criminals requires now penitentiary treatment different from that of the modern state prison. Penitentiaries must be more serviceable to prevent crimes or they are worse than useless. Experience teaches that severity rarely deters and never reforms. What then shall be done? The answer is plain. Make the prisons really reformatory, and thus they will become preventive of crimes. For this,

only simple changes are required, and there are really no serious obstacles in the way.

Mr. Brockway would have all convicts sentenced to indeterminate terms, and subjected to reformatory, rather than revengeful treatment. And his final statement of what we ought to do about it is conveyed in these words:

Give increased attention to renovating the physical man for increase of his mental activity and character; supplement such training with careful education in school to the extent of each prisoner's power to receive and develop; add manual and technological instruction, until the prisoner in prison does actually earn his subsistence and becomes habituated to live by his own honest earnings; at the same time train him in practical ethics, thoroughly testing his appreciation of common morality in his daily life; teaching him also, when it is possible for him to know it, how to love and trust the Almighty Father of us all.

It is impossible not to sympathize with Mr. Brockway's object. We wish him godspeed in his efforts to humanize the system of our prisons. And he is probably perfectly correct in his assumption that the method of treatment he proposes would have a reformatory effect upon very many criminals who, under the present system, simply become hardened in their evil ways. And yet—and yet—it is hard to say it, but it must be said, that despite his good intentions, his long experience, and his careful study of the question, Mr. Brockway has failed to give us an adequate solution of the real problem. What are we going to do about it? He proposes to establish inside the prison walls an ideal social system—a system under which each man's mind and body shall be trained to the highest usefulness, under which industry shall be rewarded and idleness discouraged, under which morality shall be the rule of daily life, and under which all shall be taught to love and trust the Almighty Father of us all. It must be a hardened criminal, indeed, on whom such a system would have no good effect. The trouble would not be with the happy inmates of the reformatories, but with the unlucky folks outside of them. Superintendent Brockway, we fear, would soon find that the wicked world would breed criminals faster than the virtuous penitentiaries could reform them. If he would effectually put down crime, let him establish outside the prisons the equitable conditions which he pleads to have established in them. Once that were done, a single generation would end the necessity for prisons.

There is no mystery about the origin of evil. It is easy to trace the genesis of crime against property. Man seeks to satisfy his desires with the least expenditure of labor—to have the greatest possible enjoyment at the cost of the least trouble to himself. So long as we maintain in society a class of disinherited men, with no acknowledged right to existence on the planet, who can never hope to secure more than a mere fraction of the just reward of any honest labor they may perform, and who secure the privilege of working for that fraction only intermittently and by favor of other luckier men—so long as we do that, we must expect the presence of a class who will take the short cut from desire to fulfillment, and seek to get by fraud and stealing the things they can never hope to get by honest labor. If society would put an end to the rogues of individuals it must undo its own gigantic robbery. Until it does that it will seek in vain the answer to Tweed's question, "What are you going to do about it?"

Yet the "Citizen" Favored the Protection Ticket.

Albany Independent Citizen.

The terrible work of starvation is still pushed forward by the coal barons of Pennsylvania. Men, women and children are starving and famishing by order of the millionaire brutes, who curtail the output of coal to rob the consumer. Hades is too good for the Shylocks that have brought about such a terrible state of affairs.

The Republican Policy Is to Keep It Out.

American Machinist.

Our best American tool steel is made of iron which comes from Sweden. So far as known, there is no iron produced elsewhere from which steel of equal quality can be made. Our American steel makers pay a heavy import duty upon this iron, while the English steel makers import it free.

Oh, If They Would But Take That Advice!

New York Press, March 12.

Brother Dana—You cannot shake the free traders off. The only thing you and your friends, including Samuel J. Randall, is the republican party.

While the lamp holds out to burn The vilest sinner may return.

JOHN BREIT.

had shock to-day—the kind of shock makes a man stop and think. What caused it was on the surface nothing more than the merest everyday incident in my life as a newspaper reporter, but the more I reflect upon it the more are my feelings jarred, and the more am I amazed at the contrasts worked out in the course of time by the merciless sea of events.

In this incident there were two principal actors, and it was only through having an intimate knowledge of each that I could have been in the least affected by it.

Ten years ago—can it be so long? it seems but two or three—I was at work on an evening newspaper in a western city. The concern was doing well, and its owner, a self-made man, made no secret of the fact that he was gaining money in other ways besides. His policy with the paper had been to direct his writers to run it as a political organ, to spend money freely in gathering news, and to pay a good deal of flattering attention to his advertisers. That had paid. In the course of time the sheet had been enabled to talk of itself as old and established. The owner, with his name standing over the editorial columns, came to regard himself, politically and in a business way, as one of the city's foremost men, and his family looked upon themselves as likely to get among its first people by and by.

With the piling up of fortune this man of success developed social ambitions, which were first made apparent in the drift of new orders issued to the staff. The paper was to be toned up. More space was to be given to society gossip. Art, the drama, the clubs, the fashionable churches—such topics were to replace spicy accounts of divorce cases and encounters in the pugilists' ring.

These orders did not meet the views of the managing editor, who liked the rough things of the world. He resigned and went off to Leadville, to write frontier novels and speculate in cards and silver mines.

A new managing editor was brought on from Boston, and the owner announced to the staff that his importation, who was to be known in the office as the editor-in-chief, would proceed to tone up the paper still further, in accordance with views in which the two were in cordial agreement.

It took a little while to settle ourselves in our old places under the new regime. But the new chief was patient with us, and after awhile the reconstructed machine was running as smoothly as ever. Moreover, we learned to appreciate the new man's gifts and accomplishments, and to rather like him for some of his qualities. If we were to have a refined aristocrat over us, we felt that he was one of the least objectionable of his kind. In person he was fine looking. He was a large man, then about thirty-five, with a serious face and good features. He was system itself, and his comportment in the office was strictly business like. He came every morning at a regular hour, went direct to his private room, and did all his work there. When he wanted to consult any of the staff, or the head of any department, he rang a table gong for an office boy and had the person he wanted invited to his room. Then, after speaking courteously and in a pleasant, sensible way, he cut the interview short when the business was finished. On taking hold of the helm he had given the heads of the departments orders as to how he wished the work under them conducted, and he never afterward interfered with them. What he did, however, in the case of the city editor, served as an example for the rest. Him he discharged for constantly violating the spirit of the orders given him to tone up the news columns.

He was a faithful worker—this new chief. His ability, too, was just in the lines which the owner of the paper wanted to cultivate. He knew English literature like the alphabet, and his editorial articles were rich in the references to the books and sayings of writers, from Chaucer's age to Swinburne's, which touch the memories of those who have read and tickle the fancy of those who have not. In art his knowledge was good and his taste correct, and many a time did his little silver table gong ring for an interview with our bushy-headed art critic, in which the latter was given advice and information—he whose loads of trash had formerly gone in the paper without question. When a great Shakespearean star came to town with his company, our

dramatic writer was sent off to report a farce-comedy or something of the kind, and the chief himself sat in judgment on the classical play and sent in a column notice that was a model of elegance and finish. But his neatest work was done when he dealt with society—the *beau monde*. He had a way of getting the reporters to find out who were alumni of the leading western colleges, and the fact somehow found mention in his articles. As for Harvard, Yale, Princeton or Columbia men, he himself seemed to know them all, and he knew just where they liked flattery to stop. He had apparently made a study of old American families, and new rich families, and the pedigree of anybody who had family ancestors, and he permitted delicate little allusions to such matters to creep into the paper. In brief, he made the paper the organ of what the cream of society termed "our set." And soon the owner of the paper and his wife and sons and daughters flourished as princes in the world of the upper ten-hundred of our western city.

In those days the socio-labor question was never mentioned in our columns save as to the phase offered by charity. The duty of charity was acknowledged, preached, by our paper and in the way we made known the names of contributors to charities the duty was rendered pleasant to them.

Our chief was an earnest man. His conception of what our paper should be was not the result of policy. He simply did as he did because he thought it right and natural. To him people of wealth and education were the best people. They were capable of appreciating things intellectual, and them he addressed, feeling that they understood him. His mental cultivation had carried him above the every day interests and excitements of the common herd, and he would not soil his pen or sacrifice his scholarly dignity in catering to such as they. The study of the better classes, their pursuits, their social pleasures and observances, their traditions, their code of morals founded on the sentiment *noblesse oblige*, this was sober work for him; and to be the mouth-piece of our best people as editor-in-chief of their favorite paper was to him nothing less than being a distinguished and honorable leader of men—the choice of men.

He firmly believed that there were men choice and men unchosen. In a good deal that he wrote there was an insinuation that evolution unerringly brought the best natures to the top. Social dregs were to be pitied. They ought not to be oppressed, but they were born to be dregs and dregs they would remain—this sort of thought leaked out between the lines he wrote, though he may never have given it blunt expression.

In those days we had trouble with our office boys. We had three, and the force of three was entirely changed about every second week. The editor-in-chief never discharged any of them. That he left to the man who did janitor's work, but who called himself superintendent of the building, an accommodating chap, who thought it time to try a new boy whenever any department head growled at one or whenever the chief was obliged to ring his gong twice in calling one. The chief himself never seemed to know one boy from another. He simply said, "Boy," and usually gave orders without looking at the boy. At Christmas, however, he presented a lucky young rascal, who happened to be two days in the place, with a ten dollar bill.

I remember the day Johnny Breit came and stood awkwardly before the man who enlisted our boys for their brief terms, asking for a job, and crushing an old second-hand white felt hat against his leg in his nervousness. A place was vacant, and without a question he was told to go to work. Just two minutes after coming up stairs with his heart in his mouth seeking employment he was departing on an errand wearing the air of an employee of a great newspaper.

Those of us who took the trouble to pay any attention to Johnny Breit regarded it as a certainty that he would be packed off at the end of a week. When, in a day or two, his sheepishness wore off, he showed himself as wild as a colt. He was noisy, abrupt, dirty, and had never heard of manners. Promptly at the end of the week he received his dismissal. It happened that just as his "boss," as he called him, was giving him his pay envelope and telling him his services were no longer required, the editor-in-chief was passing out on his way home. Johnny burst into a bawl. He ran after the chief, and the staff saw him walking down

stairs beside the great man, crying and gesticulating and pleading.

On Monday, the chief rang in the man who had discharged Johnny. He said he hoped not to interfere with necessary discipline, but that boy had told him a story of poverty and sickness at home which caused him to hope that if leniency could be shown it might be done in his case. So Johnny was re-engaged when he came in, a few minutes after.

Johnny kept his place. In time it became known that the stumpy little fellow was German by birth and was seventeen years old, that he had been working in a factory down east since he was twelve, that his health had broken down, and that he had come west with his widowed mother and young sisters, hoping to get along better. In view of his hard knocks, his uncountness was overlooked, and he became a fixture in the office.

In a short while Johnny was senior office boy, and he managed to make the new boys believe that it was his place to remain in the office while they ran the errands. He soon grew stout, almost fat. He picked up some civilized tricks. He put new clothes on his short legs and broad body, and kept his face almost clean. He learned to greet callers with an air of formality and civility that impressed people. He hadn't it in him, though, to polish up any more. The staff got to tolerate him as something better than an untried boy and a good deal worse than a good one. Sometimes he was impudent, sometimes airy; sometimes he banded words even with the dignified janitor. But he managed to stay.

Johnny Breit held his place for several years. He did not grow tall, but he became a bustling, pushing fellow, moving about quickly with clattering feet and otherwise showing strong animal spirits. He never read, with newspapers always at his hand. The grand topics of our grand newspaper were as nothing to him. He indulged in the coarse sensations of the budding sports of the street and base ball field, and never was seen in a brown study or a day dream in his life. He exhibited no fine instinct, save what might be shown in a love for the theatre, and with free tickets from the office he generally spent his evenings at a playhouse. Here, however, instead of looking at the play he was seen enjoying himself on the curbstone in the company of the supers or the loafing small fry actors. He fell into a way of repeating green room echoes in the office, which became quite a habit after one of the reporters paid him a dollar for a morsel of gossip and laughingly told him that he had in him the making of a theatrical manager.

For about four years our paper occupied the giddy height of being society's own. The proprietor then died. Executors took hold of it, and divided councils injured it. Then the widow sold it. Next, our chief retired in favor of a gentleman whose views were harmonious with those of the new proprietor, who was a driving practical politician and business man. The paper then took to astonishing heads and ugly wood cuts, and went back to the days of columns of news about the beautiful divorced blonde, and of editorials upon the measurements of pluguglies' biceps.

Our ex-chief found no place awaiting him in our western city. No other millionaire was paving his way into upper circles via aesthetic journalism. So he gave up his pretty house and went off east, taking with him his wife and three little ones, and, if common rumor was to be believed, very little cash. It costs to be a social lion.

Johnny Breit left us about the same time and went to be a super. We afterwards heard he had become a sort of agent or secretary to the manager of an amusement company.

I floated to another large western city, and it was here to-day in it that I saw Johnny Breit again. I received an assignment to interview the agent of the German opera company, who was to arrive with some of the stars at the union railway station. On a street car on the way to the station I met an old newspaper acquaintance on the same errand. He was full of gossip about people we had known, and he had news about my old chief. On going back east that personage had not found anything open that he could accept, and for a time he occupied himself with magazine writing and work of a like precarious, though high, character. But a wife and three little ones and some style are hard to keep going, and the ex-chief found that people in good positions were holding tight on to them instead of giving

way to let great talent do their work even better than it was done. In a year the ex-chief went out west again, away out west, and again he missed it. He had lost his grip on the run of good things, and what did I think he was doing now? Didn't know. Well, syndicating and reporting.

We left the street car at the door of a large hotel close by the station, intending to wait in the reading room until the train came in with the stars we were to interview. As we were about passing into the main door of the hotel a man and woman and three children were in front of us in our way. As he opened the door the man turned and glanced at us. It was my old ex-chief. We shook hands. He said he was going to put his family in the ladies' parlor while he attended to some business. He had brought them with him for a walk. I could not help giving them more than a casual glance. The wife's clothing, though neat, was of a fashion some time past. The children were clad in garments bought for wear, and were not in costumes such as their mother had formerly displayed a unique and costly taste in designing for them. The father was barely comfortably dressed, for it was a cold day. He looked thin.

When the express train came in there was a little rush of the group of reporters that had collected to interview the great German stars. The rush, and the display of competition, and the show of notebooks and pencils, however, was only a part of the make-believe of journalism, since every man of the group had agreed beforehand to get what he could from the Germans, and then meet at a favorite oyster-house and swap news, so that all would have complete reports. The German stars filed out from a Pullman car with the other passengers, but the reporters were told by an attendant that they spoke no English, and that the assistant manager would be pleased to meet them with his stars in a few minutes in the ladies' parlor of the adjoining hotel.

As I turned to walk away I again met my ex-chief. His business, then, was that of the other newspaper men. He went with us to the hotel, keeping quiet while we chatted somewhat noisily. On the way the manager's assistant's attendant gave me points about his party. He named the stars, and then said that the assistant manager was accompanied by his two sisters. One of them had lately been married to a wealthy German wholesale butcher. They were all a very fine family indeed.

When the reporter reached the ladies' parlor of the hotel, the great German stars—there were four of them—were sitting there ready to be interviewed. Two young women dressed in expensive furs and silks, and in whose broad features I saw something familiar, were seated a little further along. Close back of them, in a corner by a window, was our ex-chief's wife and three little ones, looking shy. Just as the reporters had done filing in one door, another opened and in walked Mr. John Breit.

He gave us a general, business man's nod, and then fell to talking in German with the stars. Presently he said:

"There ain't none of you gentlemen can speak German, is there?"

After a moment's silence, my ex-chief's voice replied back of me:

"I can."

Mr. John Breit said:

"Well, you kin talk English to the reporters and German to the attractions. I ain't very used to the interviewer business, though I am an old newspaper man myself."

The ex-chief went forward, and as he did so Johnny Breit said, with his voice pitched very high in his surprise:

"Why, how do you do?"

They shook hands, stout Mr. John Breit in broadcloth and diamonds and the ex-chief in worn garments and looking pale and thin.

"I've had big luck the last three years on the road," Breit said to the chief. And then to us: "Put that in the papers, boys; and this here opera is going to be something monstrous."

The ex-chief acted as interpreter for the stars and the reporters, asking his questions in fluent German and replying to the reporters in quiet and patient tones, though some of the information they sought must have astonished the foreigners if they were unaccustomed to American interviewing. While this was going on, some waiters brought in refreshments. John Breit said:

"My regards, gentlemen. I'm a doin'

this out of regards for the two professions. You'll find this here champagne A 1."

He invited everybody to eat and drink. He looked around to see that all were partaking. He saw the three little ones looking at the table of good things, and he carried them over two platefuls of sandwiches and cake. He did not remember the children, but the mother had recognized him as the rough office boy who had some years before carried notes to her from her husband. She turned and looked out of the window. The children ate as if they were hungry.

The ex-chief continued with his part in the interviewing. His voice grew husky and low, and once or twice it was tremulous. While the rest of us drank, he declined, saying he had never learned to drink.

The business finished, Mr. John Breit dismissed us with boisterous good cheer, and said he expected much from his old friends of the press.

I was the last to go down stairs, after seeing my old chief engaged in speaking with his wife, who seemed excited. In the hotel lobby he overtook me. He said he would like me to step aside with him. When we were alone, he asked me without any circumlocution to lend him five dollars. He might have talked, perhaps, but I couldn't bear to hear him, and I quickly handed him some money and hurried away.

As I said, this happened to-day—to-day in the newspaper man's sense, for it is now 3 o'clock in the morning, and I have not yet been to bed. I came away from the office an hour ago, and on the car on my way home was the city editor of the Inquirer. He talked about the night's work and asked me what I had written up. I said the German stars.

"Yes," he observed, "we had a new man do it for us, and the stuff he turned in was too hanged finished. I had to fake some life into it."

And thus have I been shocked, and thus have I been looking back at things and reflecting. In a confused way I am striving to untangle the skein of circumstances that brought about the evolution of successful John Breit and to trace the untoward events that withered my ex-chief. How much of what is often termed evolution is simply the effects of obstruction and deviation? How often what seems strength turns out, under a new light, to be weakness? And contemptible feebleness sometimes develops wondrous strength. To-day my ex-chief knows full well that his once cherished scheme of the social fabric is false. And John Breit, moneyed and happy, never thought of any scheme for society. HAGEN DWEN.

A LETTER FROM ARCHDEACON MACKAY-SMITH.

To the Editor of The Standard:

SIR—I should be obliged if you would allow me through your columns to reply to certain strictures made upon a sermon I am supposed to have preached some time since in the church of which the Rev. Heber Newton is rector. My answer, which I have not the leisure to make as full as I could wish, embraces the following points:

I. I did not treat the text, "The poor always ye have with you," as a prophecy. I expressly disclaimed any such intention, explaining that the context would not bear such an interpretation. I used the words only as what might properly be called a "motto" text.

II. I did not in any way assert or hold that we were to make no effort to abolish poverty because it was "the will of God." I entirely abhor any such doctrine.

III. The sermon consisted of two entirely distinct parts. The first was an effort to prove, I acknowledge, that certain surroundings, which we sum up in the word "poverty," did lie at the basis of our material civilization. The argument was founded entirely on considerations drawn from political economy, and had nothing to do with religion. The latter was introduced in the second part of the sermon, in which I said that if, as I believed, poverty would continue (entirely through the facts substantiated by political economy), the Christian church must awake to a new reading of the gospel of Christ, must insist on the rich throwing contempt on their riches, and must teach such a complete self-sacrifice among the so-called "privileged classes" as would create a true brotherhood, and destroy the intense selfishness which now prevails.

IV. I ask my critics to discriminate. The question as to whether poverty will continue is, as I have said, entirely a question of political economy. There is a difference of opinion. My critics think that it can be eliminated. I do not. We are both, I hope, honest in our conviction. But because I differ from them (I wish that I did not) this forms no reason for sneering at my views as if they were somehow derogatory to me as a Christian minister, or as if they proved me an enemy of

the poor. So far from this being true, the contrary is the fact. My work is almost entirely among them. I would willingly give all I possess to effect any lasting cure of even a moderate portion of the world's poverty. But because I wish a thing, that does not compel me to believe it. I wish that we might abolish sickness and pain. But I do not believe that we can or ever shall. I believe that poverty can be diminished, just as I believe that sickness and pain may be, but never done away with. I may be wrong in this, but it is my deliberate conviction, based on my study of historical and economic problems. But believing as I do, that men can never be brought together in equality through equal distribution of property, I think that I see my way to another kind of equality, that of Christian feeling. So when I go into the pulpit and look upon a congregation of well-to-do people I feel bound to express the inward conviction I am full of, and to attack that curse of our time, the conventional view of Christianity that gives its crumbs to the poor, regarding poverty as a reproach, and condescending toward the poor man in serene self-satisfaction. I do not believe that either science, or art, or sanitary laws or secular education are ever going to bring men together in themselves alone. They are all important and help the world forward. But I believe that the spirit and influence of Jesus, more widely spread and more all-pervading, are the only permanent cure. Behind all our greatest troubles lie, in my judgment, selfishness, pride and lust, and until you can strike at the power of these through converting the soul into a new view of life you have not reached the main evil.

V. Let me discriminate, again, in closing. I have not entered into the argument here as to why I believe poverty to be an enduring factor in our present ignoble and material civilization. For I do not wish to confuse the main issue, viz.: that whatever my views on a question of political economy, they form no reason to criticize me as a Christian minister, or through me the church to which I belong. To personal criticism of my views I have, of course, no possible objection. But I see no reason for bringing in a man's profession in these discussions. I claim that taking one with another, the Christian clergy of this country are the hardest working and most sympathetic friends that poverty has. Most of them are poor themselves. I believe that the average wages of a pastor are rather less than those of a skilled mechanic. And I protest in all courtesy against the prevalent sin of the labor press and the labor reformer, that of sneering at the clergy and denouncing them whenever they do not agree with their theories. I have the highest regard and admiration, for example, for Mr. Henry George. I believe him to be one of the noblest men of our time and say that he is not appreciated as he should be by the public. But because I think he is not absolutely right in his remedy for the present evil, does that prove that I do not sympathize with him, or with the poor, or am "a lazy priest?" Must the Christian church, which is for all time, be condemned because it does not at once adopt a certain theory, which may be right or wrong, but which was promulgated a few years ago, and may possibly disappear a few years hence? I sincerely regret if I speak too warmly, but this matter is a very important one. The air to-day is full of confused voices and contending theories. To one-half the world it appears that the other half is asserting that two and two equal five. And each reformer thinks that Christians especially ought to agree with him if they are not hypocrites. For is it not the province of the gospel to teach sympathy and love? Surely, but not to teach certain theories of political economy. And by political economy I mean those complicated problems, like the tariff, or bi-metalism, or tenure of land, into which such abstruse questions enter as the "balance of trade," fluctuations of wages, development of industry, and pressure of taxation—questions as to which the closest and most conscientious students are still at variance, and when the ethical considerations often seem to contradict, or to balance each other. There is no divine revelation to show which of all these multitudinous theories is true, and if the Christian clergy do not throw in their lot with some one of them, it does not in the least prove, as each reformer and his friends seem to think, that they have bad hearts. The Bible, after all, gives us the true criterion: "Let each one be fully persuaded in his own mind." Many of the clergy believe, as I have reason to know, in Mr. George's theory, and not a few are practically socialists. But the rest are attacked none the less violently from time to time because they do not agree with their brethren, and it is more than insinuated they are unworthy representatives of their callings.

But to return to my main subject. I acknowledge that I expressed in the sermon referred to the conviction that I believed the abolition of poverty to be an insoluble problem. I am not in the least ashamed of that conviction. But it is a purely intellectual one. It has no concern with religion, *per se*. The main remedy and amelioration for the present unhappy state of affairs, however, does concern religion. I preached Jesus Christ, and tried to rebuke the selfishness of property. When I cease to believe in Him as the supreme answer to human want and sin, I shall indeed despair—until then I must follow the sincere conviction of my conscience. I remain, etc., ALEXANDER MACKAY-SMITH.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SAMOA.

Donn Platt in Belford's Magazine.

It would be interesting to know at what precise period in Prince Bismarck's masterful career he first conceived the scheme of colonial empire which has grown to be an absorbing passion of his declining years. Probably it was about the time that he began to proclaim, with suspicious energy, that nothing was farther from his designs than to rival the achievements of Great Britain in the field which that nation had made almost exclusively its own. . . . Whatever the original impelling motives were, there is now no doubt that the plan of extending the German sway indefinitely by establishing vast settlements in regions yet uncivilized, and making them tributary to the glory and wealth of the empire he had created, took possession of the Chancellor's mind a dozen or more years ago with a tenacity which no discouragement or dissuasion has ever weakened. It was about that date that the unusual activity of German ships of war in the Oriental seas excited the watchfulness of European governments and provoked inquiries which led to singular disclosures. The methods of diplomatic investigation in the far East are in some respects different from those which prevail nearer home—possibly owing to a lack of facility in employing them where official scrutiny is close and constant; and it might be injudicious to examine too minutely the processes by which it became known that the guardian of Germany's destinies were engaged in maturing a plot of territorial aggrandizement the like of which has been devised by no other European statesman in recent days, and which has been paralleled only by the vivid imagination of the first Napoleon. It was soon learned that of the numerous islands which constitute what is known as Polynesia, not one of value had escaped visitation by carefully selected explorers, whose errand it was to report upon the feasibility of eventually making the German flag supreme in the Southern Pacific, and delivering over enormous tracts of land to the domination of the German race.

A glance at a map of the world will show how immense the possibilities of conquest in the East are to one who has fixed his resolve upon unscrupulous annexation or absorption. The natives of these regions are incapable of resistance, and nothing but the combined opposition of European naval powers could ever stand in the way of the gigantic enterprise. Such opposition Germany has—or believes she has—little cause to fear. Some of the leading nations are bound to support her interests by alliances which they dare not break. . . . No apprehension of collapse disturbs the German statesman's undaunted soul. In his cabinet lie the maps of the reconstructed world, upon which the future dominions of his country equal in magnitude, if they do not surpass, those of the most extensive territorial powers. The course of operations with respect to each accession is plainly marked out; and to the fulfillment of the stupendous whole he and those who bear his name are unalterably pledged. It may be generations, even in his ambitious view, before the great result is attained, but no doubt of the final consummation is allowed to take shape among those who know the bent of the iron chancellor's will. Meanwhile, effective measures are employed to try the temper and test the enduring faculties of the native races to be subdued. Cruelty and barbarity mark the German range of advancement, wherever their footsteps are imprinted. In Africa and in most parts of Asia their name is held in terror and abhorrence. They are uniformly represented by men of Bismarck's own stamp, who shrink from nothing that can accelerate the completion of their plans. The episode of Samoa affords a fair example of their intentions and their methods of execution. What is Samoa? Simply a strategic point of departure—a station that must be owned and held as a rallying-spot, a depot, and an arsenal. Having been once selected, it will never be surrendered, except under a pressure greater than the civilized world is willing or able, in Bismarck's belief, to concentrate upon such an object. The notion that the Washington government can exert the minutest influence is too groundless to be entertained by any person who has studied the situation. It is true that most of the European powers courteously abstain from offering opinions as to the result of American intervention, but the Chinese, who are aware of no reasons for reserve, openly laugh at it. The Japanese, more keenly alive to ultimate consequences, do not laugh, but are grievously concerned at the growing feebleness and irresolution of the only country that has ever permitted considerations of humanity to enter into its foreign policy. Russia—strangely or not, as the observer may choose to decide—is the sole great power that appears to cherish expectations of a future growth of American influence in the Eastern Hemisphere. German agents, acting under well-defined and easily comprehended instructions, omit no opportunity to belittle and degrade the reputation of the United States in all the districts which are included in the scope of Bismarck's magnificent projects.

But the reputation of this republic, for good or evil, is not the question now under consideration. What we desire to point out is the uselessness of attempting to controvert, by ordinary diplomatic means, a scheme of wholesale aggrandizement to which the most resolute, unshrinking and pitiless mind of this age devotes all its energy and all the instruments of material force now subject to its control. For a considerable time a certain amount of reticence will be deemed necessary, and the completest ignorance of the movement will be professed, especially by those who have been most actively concerned in the preparations. But the facts are known to so many who care nothing for the realization of Bismarck's hopes that the secret cannot long remain a close one. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that the fullest possible revelation, much as it might irritate him, would substantially modify his arrangements. It would perhaps retard them, and doubtless cause him to noisily disavow the whole proceeding; but the machinery would continue to move as surely and efficiently as ever toward the required end. This being under-

stood, and thoughtfully considered as a firm and fixed purpose of the German rulers, to occupy as much of the coming century as is necessary for its execution, a sufficiently new light will be thrown upon the Samoan complication to show that instead of being a petty incident of international debate, it is in truth the opening scene of a great and portentous historical drama. To imagine that the hand which has contrived this colossal enterprise will falter at the first sound of adverse criticism is to totally misapprehend the character of its owner and to blindly disregard the lessons he has been teaching for a score of years.

That's an Old Industry in the Northwest.

Portland, Ore., Pacific Express.
The timber grabbers have taken all the land around Astoria, and are being brought from there to Clackamas county by an agent who has made several trips, bringing a number of men with him each time, some of whom could not get trusted for fifty cents, still they have \$500 to take up a timber claim. One party hired a guide on Oregon City who found the timber claims far up the side of the Cascades on a big burn.

The Wonderful Carlsbad Springs.—At the Ninth International Medical Congress, Dr. A. L. A. Toboldt, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper stating that out of thirty cases treated with the genuine imported Powdered Carlsbad Sprudel Salt for chronic constipation, hypochondria, disease of the liver and kidneys, jaundice, diabetes, dropsy from valvular heart disease, dyspepsia, catarrhal inflammation of the stomach, ulcer of the stomach or spleen, children with marasmus, gout, rheumatism of the joints, gravel, etc., twenty-six were entirely cured, three much improved and one not treated long enough. Average time of treatment, four weeks.

The Carlsbad Sprudel Salt (powder form), is an excellent *aperient laxative and diuretic*. It clears the complexion, purifies the blood. It is easily soluble, pleasant to take and permanent in action. The genuine product of the Carlsbad Springs is exported in round bottles. Each bottle comes in a light blue paper carton, and has the signature "Eimer & Mendelsohn Co.," sole agents, 6 Barclay street, on every bottle. One bottle mailed upon receipt of One Dollar. Dr. Toboldt's lectures mailed free upon application. Mention "The Standard."

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested his wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing and using. Send by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Tower's block, Rochester, N. Y.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Some Tariff Questions.

(1) Were the panics of 1816, 1837 and 1857 attributable to the excess of our imports over exports (This claim is made by E. P. Miller, M. D., in his "Fallacies of Free Trade.")?

(2) Trade being an interchange of commodities, is it not to the detriment of a country to be obliged to exchange gold and silver (either in coin or bullion) for manufactured or agricultural products, the value of the former not being so much determined by the cost of production as the latter?

(3) Can any reliable statistics be had showing the relative rate of wages as to production in both England and the United States? If not, upon what basis is the claim made that though American wage-workers receive more pay per day or week, yet they also perform more work?

JOS. SUSS.

(1) There was no panic in 1816, although business was not good. The crash occurred in 1818-19, but with the exception of some of the manufactures that had been started when the war of 1812-15 prevented importations from England, and had to suddenly compete with English goods, the importations did not contribute to this crash. The currency was unsettled. The English tariff of 1816 suddenly stopped our exportations of staples. There was a certain speculative feverishness generally. Besides this was a transition period, when the new machinery was taking the place of hand workers.

The panics of 1837 and 1857 were each directly the result of a treasury surplus caused by the tariff, and wild land speculation.

(2) Fortunately for us gold is a product just like platinum, zinc, copper or any other metal. True, its scarceness is a great element in its value, more so than in the case of copper. But it is a product. And as long as we can get more silk dresses and India rubber by producing gold and paying foreigners with it than we could by making silk and rubber ourselves, where is the harm? We are all benefited. The old and still existing protectionist claim that any country can be drained of precious metals by trading is simply nonsense. Gold will go to the place where it will buy the most. And the day when the United States can produce nothing cheaper than other countries is not yet. And the same is true of every other country. Any country can buy all the gold it wants with other products and no protective tariff humbug is needed to act as gold broker, charging "a commission both ways."

(3) Very few impartial figures are to be had on this point. The general statement that where wages are high, inventions multiply, is the most important thing to bear in mind. Americans would get higher wages than Englishmen even if they did not produce as much, so long as we had millions of acres of free or very cheap land for our surplus population to go to.

The Land Tax and Production.

HAMILTON, Ohio.—(1) Under the present system of taxation what portion of the tax is derived from the land alone?

(2) At present there are more cereals produced from the land than can be consumed in this country, this being so how will your system of taxation benefit a man who is compelled to support himself and family as a wage worker?

(3) Do you not admit that at present there is a tendency of land to be divided into smaller tracts every year from the fact that all heirs equally, not like in England where the oldest son takes the estate instead? This being so, how would you facilitate matters any with your system? CHARLES A. LAW, P. O. Box 86.

The assessment on a piece of improved property in this city, to take a representative locality, that is worth \$10,000, of which \$5,000 is the value of land, and \$5,000 the value of improvements, would be about 60 per cent of the real value. And on this assessment of \$6,000 the tax at 2 1/4 per cent would be \$135 a year. If the house and all improvements were swept away, and only the \$5,000 land value remained, the assessment would be about 40 per cent on this \$5,000, or \$2,000; and the tax would be, at 2 1/4 per cent, \$45 a year, just 1/3 what it was when the improvements existed. This is the regular way of assessing here, and it is much the same in other places. The improver pays from 3 to 5 or even 10 times the taxes that the owner of vacant land pays for monopolizing the same amount of equally valuable ground. But there is a very great deal of land held idle or only slightly used, and in such cases the tax is necessarily a land tax, and not a tax on improvements. Then, on the other hand, of our taxes about one-tenth are on

personal property, and do not rest in any way on land.

Taking all things into consideration, it would be fair, I think, to say that considerably over half our state and local taxes, outside of license taxes, are on improvements. As for our national tariff and internal revenue taxes, which indirectly amount to far more than all state and local taxes, these, of course, do not rest on land; they are taxes on production, and fall eventually on consumers, so that only a small fraction of all taxes rest on land.

(2) There are not at present more cereals produced here than "can be" consumed here. There are more produced than "are" consumed, which, however, is a different thing. Our population could use far more grain than is now raised; the reason we do not is that most of us are debarred from the opportunities to produce other things to exchange for grain. It is by giving these opportunities to the millions of wage workers and small capitalists, and making them all producers of ten where they are now producers of one, that our system of forcing land into use will help them. Capital can readily be had by anyone who has "opportunity," natural or artificial, to use it.

(3) We do not admit that the number of land owners is increasing in proportion to the growth of population, on the contrary it is rapidly decreasing. People are crowded into the cities and the cities are made up mostly of tenants.

Capital and Wealth.

NEW YORK.—A claims that that portion of a man's produce which he exchanges for wealth to be used for his own maintenance (as in the case of a farmer exchanging eggs or butter for groceries) is not classed as capital by Mr. George B. claims that it is. Who is right?

ALVIN SUMMERS.

B is right. Wealth in process of exchange, no matter what the proceeds of such exchange are used for, is capital. The farmer in the case you mention is doing just what the merchant does who exchanges cloth for money.

W. B. SCOTT.

Notes.

George E. Dummer, Washington, D. C.—Your answer was a good one and especially so in view of the case instanced, that of the Rothschilds and others combining.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

For Taking Birdseye Views.

A few weeks ago was noticed a device for securing photographs at high elevations above the earth's surface by means of a rocket carrying the photographic apparatus in its ascent, and buoyed in its downward journey by a parachute, which opened at the moment in its descent after the exposure had been made. An American inventor has recently contrived a simpler and better method. He proposes to elevate his camera by means of a balloon held by cords at the desired height. The balloon lifts the camera, and the exposure is made by means of a simple electric apparatus. In the apparatus forty-eight exposures can be made during one ascension of the balloon, the sensitized paper being so arranged as to revolve on the cylinder to which it is affixed. The great advantage of this method over all others hitherto proposed consists in the fact that only a very small balloon is required to elevate the apparatus as it is not necessary to lift an operator.

Sawdust as a Substitute for Sand.

Sawdust is now much used in mortar, where it forms an excellent substitute for sand. In some localities it is impossible to obtain good, clear, sharp sand suitable for use in the composition of mortar, but sawdust is always to be had in almost unlimited quantities. The latter has the advantage of being lighter, and renders the mortar not only easier for the laborer to carry, but, being only half the weight of that mixed with sand, is much better for ceiling, as it is less apt to fall off. Mortar made of quicklime and sawdust in place of sand, and mixed with a proper proportion of cement, makes an excellent mortar for brick and stone work. Sawdust enters largely into the patent plasters.—(Builder and Woodworker.)

One of the Substances We Get From a Coal Mine.

To the long list of dyes, flavoring extracts—including saccharine—and drugs that we get from coal tar there has been recently added a substance called antipyrin. Its discovery is the result of a long series of experiments by German chemists and its wonderful medicinal qualities have lately been proved by medical practitioners. The relationship between quinine extracted from Peruvian bark and a certain alkaloid contained in coal tar was the basis of the investigations which led to the discovery of antipyrin. The medicinal effects of this drug are described by a writer in Chambers's Journal as follows: It reduces the temperature in cases of fevers with almost unerring certainty from two to four degrees within two hours of being administered, and this, too, without the disturbing constitutional effects of quinine. This thermic effect of antipyrin equals any-

thing ever produced by quinine. In commerce it appears in small white crystalline scales, and also as a white powder, in both cases being soluble freely in water, without smell, and of a mild, bitter taste. It is thus very much easier administered than quinine. It is recommended in cases of phthisis, pneumonia, puerisy, neuralgia, lumbago, sciatica, and in that distressing complaint, seasickness. In short, its history is intimately connected with the history of medicine for the past three years, and it would be difficult to cite all the different cases in which it is recommended to be administered. Probably, however, it has attained its greatest popularity in this country, so far as the general public is concerned, from being recommended as a cure for headaches. Its use in this respect is largely increasing. It may be given in doses of from ten to twenty grains with perfect safety, either at the commencement of the headache or as soon after as possible, and should be taken for several hours afterward.

Steel Clink Kegs.

The beer kegs used by brewers at present cost \$1.65 apiece and wear out within five years. To last that long they have to be coopered several times. A more durable keg has been invented and is thus described by the New York Times:

First a cylinder of steel is made and then a keg is made of thick oak staves which are forced through a hydraulic press, with a lateral pressure of forty tons and a resistance of 2,500 pounds to the square inch. This is again forced into the steel cylinder with great power. Then a steel head and bottom are forced over the wooden ones and fastened to the cylinder so that the little barrel becomes about as solid as anything can be and be hollow. There is no possibility of the keg leaking for when sealed it is air tight.

The new keg will weigh not more than two pounds more than the old ones, and it will cost about fifty cents more.

An Electric Date Stamp.

According to Engineering, the Electric Date and Time Stamp Company are introducing a new stamp, which at one operation marks on any document the minute, hour, day, month and year, as well as the usual address and business of the proprietor. Unlike many automatic appliances which are dubbed electrical merely for the purpose of imposing on unwary customers, the electric current is really employed in this piece of apparatus. The device consists of five type-wheels with connecting gear, disposed on a single axis; and the minute, the hour, the day, the month, and the year are correctly placed in line under the impression-pad. The minute-wheel is actuated by any clock, through the instrumentality of an electric current, which shifts it round minute by minute. The apparatus is under trial at the London general post office for dating telegrams.—[Science.]

Certain Men's Helms.

Rider's Book Notes.

On the corner of Dorrance and Westminster streets, Providence, there stands a building upon a bit of land occupied by a firm who sell, or, more properly, publicly announce their willingness to sell, coats and breeches, to wit, J. B. Barnaby & Co. This firm hire the premises from the heirs of W. H. Low. The heirs of W. H. Low hire the premises from the heirs of Richard Waterman. The heirs of Richard Waterman received it by descent from their ancestor, Richard Waterman, to whom it was "lotted" by the first proprietors, he being one of them, in a piece of land comprising ninety-one acres "on Waubosset side." Now when Barnaby sells coats he is obliged to load them with a sufficient margin of profit out of which to pay the heirs of Low, his own expenses and taxes, and to amass a fortune. Out of the amount paid them by Barnaby the heirs of Low must pay the heirs of Waterman their own taxes, the repairs on the building, and keep sufficient to amass a fortune. Out of the amount paid to them by the heirs of Low the heirs of Waterman must pay the city's tax upon the land, interest on their investment, and still amass a fortune, and to these latter heirs inures the increasing rental value of the land, the amount of which is fixed periodically, and which must in the end be added by Barnaby to the cost of the coat he proposes to sell. The heirs of Waterman having no use for the land rented to Low, Low took it with no intention of using it, but simply to make somebody "sweat" who could use it; he found such a customer in Barnaby, but to Barnaby it made no difference how much Low "sweated" him, for he, in turn, "sweated" the buyer of his coat. The heirs of Waterman toil not, neither do they spin, and yet I say unto you, that not even Solomon was situated like one of these. The heirs of Low collect and preserve the rent, and work not. Now, then, wherein consists the actual benefit to the public of this system? It is the public as a whole who give all its value to this land; it is the same public who are robbed, and it is the same public who nominally make the laws by means of which they are robbed. Let me ask, with the Roman lawyer, *Cui Bono?*

The entire land upon which Providence was "planted," of which this little piece forms but the merest fragment, was bought by Williams from the Indians, and by him transferred to the community of which he was a member. What consideration he gave for his first purchase cannot be determined. But among the things which the community gave to perfect their title, appears an item of ten coats. At a late period of his life Mr. Williams, in speaking of the ownership of these lands, declared "they were mine own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back." It is doubtful whether the original Waterman paid for this lot where Barnaby offers to sell coats, as much as the cost of a single button on one of the coats which he offers. He has done nothing with it, but look at the princely incomes which come out of the public!

PERSONAL.

C. J. Buell of Minneapolis, Minn., is a builder and contractor. He has for years given the subject of taxation a most careful study as to its effects on building interests, so that he is competent to speak on the subject. His reasoning, as THE STANDARD readers know, has brought him to the point where he declares that the single tax is the only just tax that can be levied without injury to production. In a communication to the Building Society Advocate of Chicago he says, speaking of what the single tax would do: The tendency would be toward the following beneficial results: "To check land speculation; to encourage improvements; to raise wages; to lower rents and the cost of goods; to make it easier to get homes; to make more homes and fewer tenements; less vice and drunkenness; fewer millionaires and fewer paupers; a better degree of average comfort; more marriages and less prostitution; a higher average standard of living; shorter hours of labor; more time for reading and study; a higher average intelligence; saving in expense of government; less fraud and corruption; less perjury in collecting taxes."

The Fulton County, Ill., Democrat publishes an article on "the single tax" from the pen of W. E. Brokaw of Bristol, Day county, Dakota, and says: "What he says shows deep thought. It is most important. Thinking men are waking up to this theme wonderfully in all our states and territories, and in Europe. There is nothing more unjust in our civilization than our system of taxation and land monopoly. Reform is in the air. Mr. Brokaw is one of its noble and well equipped promoters."

* W. H. Van Ornum, whose name is not unfamiliar to the readers of THE STANDARD, is editor of the Chicago Building Society Advocate.

W. Monahan of Minneapolis, Minn., is bombarding the Minneapolis National Arsenal and Artisan and Farmers' Free Lance with communications on the single tax, despite the fact that some persons have told him "that it is quite useless to argue" with the editor of that paper. And the best of it is that the paper is printing the letters and trying to refute Mr. Monahan's arguments.

Judge Frank T. Reid is doing splendid work in Nashville nowadays. He has delivered a number of stirring Sunday evening addresses before the single tax organization there and will shortly go to Mobile, Ala., and deliver a lecture there under the auspices of the single tax men.

The Philadelphia Justice in its issue of March 2 reprints entire W. B. DuBois's communication, "The Bojage of Bonds," from THE STANDARD; and also Mr. Shearman's article, "A Foe of Shipping."

W. H. Benedict was defeated for mayor in the recent Auburn, N. Y., election by 500 votes. He is a well known single tax man.

The Personal Rights Advocate of Chicago is printing a series of articles on "The Land Question," by Senator James R. Doolittle.

The Manistee Broadaxe prints, approvingly, a synopsis of an address delivered before the single tax men of that city by App. M. Smith.

J. R. Burton has an article on "Tax the land" in the Detroit Onward, which also prints the first chapter of Henry George's "Land Question."

A. H. Stephenson of Philadelphia has been invited by the Unity club of Germantown to address them on the single tax.

"Wheelbarrow" two weeks ago printed in the Open Court of Chicago a review and criticism of "Progress and Poverty." He pronounced the book a fascinating one, and the author a wonderful man; but differed with the conclusions. In the current number of the Open Court W. H. Van Ornum, James Malcolm, and "Observer" go after "Wheelbarrow" with sharp sticks.

Walter Gallagher of San Francisco delivered an address on the single tax, February 24, before the single tax society of that city. Speaking of the meetings of the society the San Francisco Star says that the press of that city has partially awakened to the importance of the subject and are compelled to consider it. The Call denounces the agitation as "mischievous," in the fact that it tends to unsettle values." It is considered a wonderful thing in San Francisco for the Call to have an editorial opinion on anything.

C. A. Potwin is affirmatively discussing the single tax in the Zanesville, Ohio, Times-Recorder. His opponent is "R." Mr. Potwin's clinching assertion is: "The generation of to-day cannot deed away the right of the next generation. The father cannot deed away the right of the child. Any contract, even if entered into by the whole people living to-day in the world, would be void as against the claim of the babe born the minute thereafter."

Some one signing himself "Single Tax" is contributing able articles to the Boulder, Col., Sentinel.

William Porter of Cape May contributes a letter to the current number of The Cause, in which he answers some objections made against the Australian system of conducting elections.

William A. Ford of Cambridge, Mass., on last Monday evening addressed the Lynn land club on "The single tax." The Lynn Daily Bee gives over three columns to Mr. Ford's address.

The New York Men at the Chicago Tariff Reform Convention.

Grace Easterly in the Chicago Leader.

The delegation from New York was composed of men who are more than the peers of any living Americans in their power of demonstration and in their grasp of the problems of political economy. As the debate progressed, it became apparent that they had all of the elements needed to cover every line of attack. Thomas G. Shearman had won his hosts of friends by his masterly address the night before, and added to a brilliant reputation by his fierce onslaught upon the very citadel of the high taxers. W. T. Crossdale showed that long services as a journalist had not weakened his power as a debater. Hugh O. Pentecost treated the moral phase of the tariff question in a manner that charmed eyes; those who could not accept his logic, and gave his friends new cause for rejoicing in the ally that had come to them. To very few men has nature been so lavish in her gifts. With a physique that an artist might covet, a face that betrays the intense emotional nature of the man, and a magnetic power that wins his audience with his first sentences, he has a command of language that seem only possible to come to man as the result of inspiration.

Bridemaids at the Wedding of the Son of a Peer.

Hugh O. Pentecost's Twentieth Century.

One of the great New York dailies, under the heading "Foreign Notes of Real Interest," informs its readers that "the bridemaids at the wedding of Lord Salisbury's third son were dressed in white Irish poplin, having vests, collars and cuffs of red velvet, with full underskirts of mousseline de soie." It would be instructive to know what sort of news the compiler of the "foreign notes" considers of no particular consequence. But since the toilet of bridemaids is an important matter, why not tell us how the bridemaids at the last wedding among the Birmingham mill operatives or Newcastle miners were arrayed?

Just as Good as it Was a Century Ago.

James Malcolm in The Open Court.

The "single tax" men believe that the Declaration of Independence if taken from the archives of forgotten lore, honestly interpreted and lived up to by the people of these United States or any other country, is an all sufficient remedy for current industrial and social ills. There is a power in that old document, which if let loose would surprise and satisfy the most radical of those who long for better days.

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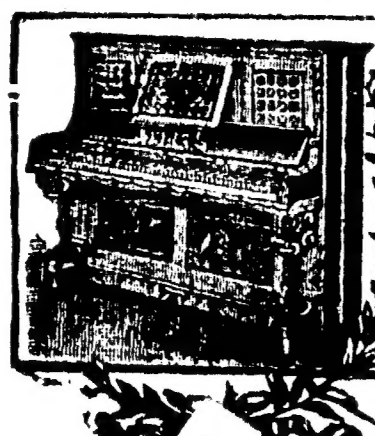
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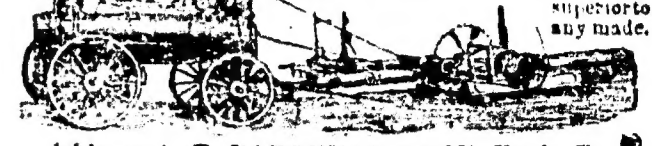
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